# A NEW
# HISTORY
## OF
# ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# EDWARD VI.

Engravd for Rider's History of England

# THE
# History of ENGLAND.

## *The* HISTORY *of* EDWARD VI.
## A. D. 1547.

THE love of power is commonly found to be the predominant passion of princes. The late king had been always so tenacious of his authority, that he could hardly be persuaded to resign it with his breath. He had settled the succession in such an accurate manner, and

impoſed ſuch ſevere reſtrictions on the government of his infant ſon, that he ſeemed deſirous of reigning even after his deceaſe; and he vainly imagined, that his miniſters, who had obeyed him, during his life-time, with ſuch unlimited complaiſance, would never afterwards preſume to depart from the plan, which he had projected.

He fixed the majority of the prince at the eighteenth year of his age; and as Edward was but juſt turned of nine, he appointed ſix executors, to whom, during the minority, he committed the adminiſtration of public affairs, and the care of the king's perſon.

Their names were Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; lord Wriotheſley, chancellor; lord St. John, ſteward of the houſehold; lord Ruſſel, privy-ſeal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viſcount Liſle, admiral; Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe; Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common-pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, gentlemen of the privy-chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer

ſurer of Calais; doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

To theſe ſixteen executors, in whoſe hands the whole regal authority was lodged, were joined twelve counſellors, who enjoyed no immediate power; and could only aſſiſt with their advice, when any affair was laid before them.

The council conſiſted of Henry Fitzallen, earl of Arundel; William Par, earl of Eſſex; Sir Thomas Cheney, treaſurer; Sir John Gage, comptroller of the houſhold; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edward Peckham.

This nomination is a freſh proof of Henry's caprice and inconſiſtency, by appointing ſeveral perſons of inferior ſtation among his executors, and aſſigning only the place of counſellor to a perſon of ſuch high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

Whatever hopes the late king might have entertained, that the executors and counſellors would adhere invariably to his orders, the firſt act of their authority was to violate his will in a very material article.

No sooner were they assembled, than it was observed, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of a proper head, who might represent the person of his majesty, receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from the English ministers abroad might be sent, and whose name might be subscribed to all orders and proclamations; and, as the king's will had made no provision for this particular, it was thought necessary to supply the defect, by appointing a protector; who, though he should enjoy all the external badges of royal dignity, should yet be obliged, in every exercise of authority, to conduct himself by the opinion of the executors.

This proposal was warmly opposed by the chancellor Wriothesley; who, being a man of great spirit and ambition, imagined that his office entitled him to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and, as that prelate had no capacity nor inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the management of public business would of course devolve, in a great measure, upon himself.

He therefore exerted his utmost endeavours, in order to prevent the nomination of a protector: and alledged, that such a measure

measure would be a direct violation of the king's will, which, being confirmed by act of parliament, ought to be observed with the utmost punctuality, and could not be altered but by the same authority, by which it had been established.

His remonstrances, however, produced no effect. The other members were unanimous in opinion, that a protector should be named; and the choice fell on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly attached to his interest; and, having no pretensions to the crown himself, could never be tempted to engage in any measures prejudicial to the person or authority of his nephew.

The people were informed of this change in the government, by a general proclamation; and messengers were dispatched, to notify the matter to all foreign courts. All those who enjoyed public offices, resigned their former commissions, and took out new ones in the name of the young king; and the bishops themselves were obliged to submit to the same regulation.

But, though the executors had ventured to violate the will of Henry in this particular, they did not fail to observe it in another

other point, because it was conducive to their own interest.

The late king had resolved, a little before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those who had fallen by acts of attainder, or default of issue; and that the persons, thus dignified, might be enabled to support their new rank, he had determined either to gratify them with estates, or promote them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to acquaint them with his design; and, in his will, he enjoined his executors to fulfil all his promises.

That they might discover the king's intentions in this particular, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, who had always enjoyed a great share of Henry's confidence, were summoned before the board of regency; and having declared what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was admitted, and the ministers proceeded to the execution of these engagements.

Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal, and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord

lord Seymour, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, and Sir Edward Sheffield, were promoted to the title of barons.

The ſame dignity was offered to ſeveral others, who declined the honour, becauſe the ſecond part of the king's promiſe, the conferring eſtates on theſe new noblemen, was poſtponed to a more convenient ſeaſon. Some of them, however, particularly Somerſet the protector, were, in the mean time, gratified with eccleſiaſtical preferments, deaneries and prebends.

The earl of Southampton had always been an inveterate enemy to Somerſet; and it was not likely, that factions, which had ſecretly ſubſiſted, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, would be ſuppreſſed in the feeble adminiſtration which commonly attends a minority.

The former nobleman, with his uſual arrogance and preſumption, had ventured, of himſelf, and from his own authority, to put the great ſeal in commiſſion, and had appointed four lawyers, called Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute, in his abſence, the office of chancellor.

This meaſure gave great umbrage to the miniſtry; and ſo much the greater, that two of the commiſſioners being canoniſts, the

the lawyers imagined, that, by this nomination, he meant to bring the common law into disrepute. Complaints were preferred to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly seized such a favourable opportunity of ruining Southampton.

The judges, being consulted, declared, that the commission was contrary to the laws of the land, and that the chancelior, for such an unconstitutional step, ought not only to be deprived of the seals, but might likewise be subjected to the severest punishment.

The council summoned him to appear before them; and, though he endeavoured to justify his conduct by a number of frivolous arguments, they declared that he had forfeited his office; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during the pleasure of the ministry.

Though the removal of Southampton augmented the protector's authority, and tended to extinguish factions in the regency; yet was not Somerset satisfied with this advantage; his ambition pushed him to aspire to still higher acquisitions, and to aim at an absolute and unlimited power.

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*SEYMOUR* Duke of *SOMERSET*

*Engravid for Rider's History of England*

Pretending that the vote of the executors, appointing him protector, was not a ſufficient foundation for his authority, he obtained from the young king a patent, by which he entirely defeated the will of Henry the eighth, occaſioned a total revolution in the government, and may even ſeem, in ſome meaſure, to have ſubverted the laws of the kingdom.

He conſtituted himſelf protector with full regal power; and appointed a council, compoſed of all the former counſellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: he reſerved a power of chuſing any other counſellors at pleaſure: and he was obliged to conſult with ſuch only as he ſhould think proper.

The protector and his council were likewiſe inveſted with a diſcretionary power, and might execute whatever they ſhould deem beneficial to the nation, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture, from any law, ſtatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatſoever.

Had this patent been more limited and circumſcribed in its conceſſions, and had it been granted by the unanimous conſent of the executors appointed by Henry; its legality, even in that caſe, might juſtly be queſtioned; becauſe it ſeems to be an eſſential condition of ſuch a truſt, that it

ſhould

ſhould be exerciſed by the perſons entruſted, and ſhould never be delegated to others: but as the patent, by its very tenour, in which the executors are not ſo much as named, appears to have been ſurreptitiouſly procured from a minor king, the protectorſhip of Somerſet was a manifeſt uſurpation, which, it is impoſſible to juſtify by any arguments.

The connivance, however, of the executors, and their acquieſcence in the new eſtabliſhment, prevented all murmurs and clamours among the people, and diſpoſed them to ſubmit, with chearfulneſs, to the authority of the protector; and as the young king was entirely devoted to his uncle, who was, in other reſpects, a man of probity and moderation, no objections were made to his power and title. Beſides, all men of ſenſe concluded, that, conſidering the preſent ſtate of the nation, divided, as it was, into ſo many ſects and parties, it was abſolutely neceſſary to commit the government to one perſon, who might check the ſpirit of faction, and inſure the public tranquillity.

Whatever unconſtitutional ſteps the protector might have taken in order to obtain his extenſive authority, he did not fail to employ it in promoting the real intereſt and welfare of the nation. He had been long

regarded

regarded as the ſureſt friend of the reformers; but, during the reign of the late king, he had been intimidated, by the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of that monarch, from declaring his ſentiments in an open manner, and purſuing the meaſures which he would otherwiſe have embraced. Now, however, that he was freed from theſe reſtraints, he ſcrupled not to expreſs his intention of correcting the abuſes of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and adopting ſtill more of the Proteſtant innovations.

He took care, that all thoſe, who had any ſhare in the king's education, ſhould be ſtrongly attached to the ſame principles; and as the young prince was extremely fond of every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, it was natural to ſuppoſe, that, in the courſe of his reign, the popiſh faith would be entirely aboliſhed.

Determined, however, as the protector was, to promote the reformation in England, he reſolved to proceed in this pious work, with the utmoſt caution and circumſpection. In all matters of a religious nature, he conducted himſelf entirely by the advice of Cranmer, who being a man of prudence and moderation, was extremely averſe to all violent changes, and was deſirous of bringing over the people, by imperceptible degrees, to that ſyſtem of doc-

trine and discipline; which he considered as the most pure and perfect.

He probably likewise imagined, that a system, which carefully shunned the extremes of reformation, was likely to be the most permanent; and that a devotion, merely spiritual, was only suited to the first fervours of a new sect; and, upon the relaxation of these, would naturally open a door for the inroads of superstition and impiety.

He seems therefore to have proposed the establishment of an hierarchy, which being adapted to the constitution of a great and regular government, might serve as a perpetual bulwark against Rome, and might command the reverence of the people, even after the first ardour of their zeal was greatly abated, or entirely extinguished.

The person, who made the strongest opposition to any further changes in religion, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not been honoured with a place in the council of regency, on account of some late offence, which he had given to Henry, was intitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his own party.

This prelate still continued to extoll the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally esteemed

teemed by the nation; and he repreſented the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young king's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed by that monarch.

He defended the uſe of images, which were now openly condemned by the Proteſtants: he even condeſcended to write an apology for Holy Water, which biſhop Ridley had attacked in a ſermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered as effectual an inſtrument of doing good as any other ceremony whatever.

But all his remonſtrances produced no effect. An act of parliament had beſtowed a legiſlative power on the crown; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, poſſeſſed all the force and authority of laws. The protector, availing himſelf of this ſtatute, reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours in promoting the Reformation; and having, in the mean time, ſuſpended the authority of the biſhops, he ordered a general viſitation to be made of all the dioceſes in England.

The whole kingdom was divided into ſix circuits, each of which was aſſigned to a certain number of viſitors, who were partly laymen and partly eccleſiaſtics. The chief purport of their inſtructions was, beſides correcting the irre-

gularities that prevailed among the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitious practices, and to bring the discipline and worship to a greater conformity with those of the reformed churches. Nevertheless, they were enjoined to proceed with the greatest delicacy and reserve. They were directed to preserve for the present all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to teach the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to abstain from some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles, in order to drive away the devil.

The same religious zeal which prompted Somerset to encourage the Reformation at home, led him likewise to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, after having long withstood the united importunities of all the princes in Christendom, had, at last, convoked a general council, which met at Trent, and was employed in reforming the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines.

The emperor, who wanted to humble the exorbitant power of the court of Rome,

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as well as to win over the Proteſtants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who dreaded the overthrow of his own greatneſs, endeavoured rather to employ them in the latter.

He ordered his legates, who preſided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the divines in altercations, and arguments, and diſputes, concerning the nice points of faith; hoping, by this means, to divert the attention of the members from the grand ſcheme of reformation.

But his arts and intrigues proved ineffectual. The prelates, in general diſcovered ſuch a ſtrong inclination to exalt the epiſcopal authority on the ruins of the ſovereign pontiff, that the legates were obliged to interrupt their proceedings by transferring the council to Bologna, where they imagined it would be more under the influence of his holineſs.

The emperor, as well as the pope, had learned to employ religion as a cloak to cover his ſelfiſh and intereſted views. He was determined to uſe the imputation of hereſy as a pretext for ſubduing the Proteſtant princes, and deſtroying the liberties of Germany; but found it neceſſary to conceal his deſigns under a deep artifice,

and to hinder his enemies from forming a confederacy againſt him.

He detached the Palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the Proteſtant league: he invaded the dominions of the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe: by the chance of war he made the former his priſoner: by policy and addreſs he inveigled the other into his power, and detained him captive, by breaking a ſafe-conduct, with which he had indulged him. He ſeemed to have attained to the higheſt pinnacle of fortune; and the German princes, confounded at his ſucceſs, were ſtill further diſheartened by the news, which they had received, of the death firſt of Henry the eighth, and then of Francis the firſt, their uſual reſources in every calamity.

Henry the ſecond, who now ſwayed the ſceptre of France, was a prince of great courage and reſolution; but he was leſs bold and daring than his predeceſſor, and leſs inflamed with hatred and reſentment againſt the emperor Charles. Though he ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the Smalcadic league, and flattered them with the hopes of aſſiſtance, he was extremely unwilling, in the beginning of his reign, to engage in a war with ſuch a powerful monarch as the emperor; and he imagined,

gined, that the alliance of theſe princes was a ſure reſource, of which he could avail himſelf on any emergency.

He was directed, in all his meaſures, by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen-dowager of Scotland, and he followed their advice, in chuſing rather to afford immediate aſſiſtance to that ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry the eighth, had implored the protection of the French monarch.

The Reformation, which had made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs in England, had likewiſe begun to take root in Scotland, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the miniſtry, who were entirely under the influence of cardinal Beaton, a haughty, arrogant, and factious prelate, who now gave a ſtriking ſpecimen of his cruelty by the execution of one Wiſhart, a Proteſtant preacher.

This gentleman, who was deſcended from a good family, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his piety and learning, and was univerſally beloved for the integrity of his heart and the innocence of his manners. He was burned at St. Andrew's, in ſight of the barbarous primate, who had rejected the interceſſion of the regent and many other noblemen; and now feaſted

feaſted his eyes with the tortures of this unhappy man from a window of his own palace.

Wiſhart underwent his fate with great fortitude and conſtancy; but his friends, not ſatisfied with repreſenting him as a primitive martyr, in point of courage and reſignation, have endeavoured to exalt him to the dignity of a prophet, by pretending that he foretold the death of his perſecutor, who, in a few days after his execution, was brought to an end as untimely, but more deſerved than that of the pious and worthy preacher.

The diſciples of Wiſhart, incenſed at his cruel and unmerited puniſhment, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and having engaged, in their party, Norman Leſley, who was enraged at the primate, on account of ſome private injury, they conducted their ſcheme with equal ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified, and though they did not exceed ſixteen in number, they thruſt out an hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before their deſign was diſcovered; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded to execute their purpoſe with equal calmneſs and reſolution.

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The cardinal having been alarmed by the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle, had barricadoed the doors of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire to force their way, he was obliged to open it; and reminding them of his ſacred cha-character, he beſought them to ſpare his life.

This, however, was a favour which he could not obtain. One of the conſpirators, named James Melvil, drew his ſword, and addreſſed the primate in the following terms: "Repent thee, thou wicked cardi-" nal of all ſins and iniquities, but eſpe-" cially of the murder of Wiſhart, that in-" ſtrument of God for the converſion of " theſe lands. It is his death, which now " calls for vengeance upon thee; and we " are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved " puniſhment. For I here take God to " witneſs, that it is neither hatred of thy " perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor fear " of thy power, which prompts me to " ſeek thy death; but only becauſe thou " haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt, an inve-" terate enemy to Jeſus Chriſt, and his " goſpel." So ſaying, he plunged his ſword into the breaſt of the cardinal, who fell dead at his feet.

The conſpirators, being reinforced by their friends to the number of one hundred

dred and forty persons, resolved to defend themselves in the castle to the last extremity; and with this view sent a messenger to the court of England, imploring assistance from that quarter.

The Scottish ministry, after having in vain endeavoured to reduce the castle, were obliged to offer the garrison a pardon, together with an absolution from the pope, and a promise that they should never afterwards be called to an account for Beaton's murder, provided they would surrender the place. Mean while, till the pope's absolution should arrive, the queen-dowager applied to France for succours; and Henry sent her some gallies, with a train of artillery, under the command of Strozzi, prior of Capua.

Before the siege of St. Andrew's was begun, the absolution was sent to the garrison, and they were commanded to surrender; but the pope having said, among other particulars, that he had pardoned an unpardonable crime, the garrison suspected that this expression was meant to ensnare them, and therefore refused to open their gates. Nevertheless, they were soon compelled to depart from their obstinacy: a great breach was made in the walls; the plague broke out among them; and having no prospect of assistance from England, they

they ſurrendered to the French upon conditions, which were not very punctually obſerved.

The protector of England had no ſooner ſettled the internal government of the kingdom, than he began to make preparations for an invaſion of Scotland; reſolving, if poſſible, to execute the ſcheme of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage; a project, which the late king, had he lived a little longer, would propably have accompliſhed, and the execution of which he had recommended with his dying breath to his miniſtry.

In proſecution of this plan, Somerſet aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other loaded with proviſions and ammunition. The command of the fleet he beſtowed upon lord Clinton: he himſelf, aſſiſted by the earl of Warwick, conducted the land forces. The pretence for theſe hoſtile proceedings was to revenge ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but, beſides that the protector renewed the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of England over Scotland, he refuſed to agree to any negociation, unleſs a marriage ſhould be immediately concluded between the young queen and Edward.

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The protector issued a manifesto, in which he inforced that measure by a variety of arguments. These were deduced from the situation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by cutting them off from all communication with foreign states, and surrounding them by the ocean, seemed to have designed for one empire; from the similarity of the inhabitants in laws, language, manners, and customs, by which means they might the more easily be united into one people; the equality of the young king and queen in point of age and fortune; the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually exposed from the hostile attempts of a richer and more powerful neighbour; the many and great advantages that must necessarily result to the natives of both countries from living in a state of peace and security; and the protector added, that, besides all these considerations, positive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound, in honour, to perform, what their interest and safety so loudly demanded.

He soon found, however, that all these remonstrances were rendered ineffectual by the arts and intrigues of the queen dowager, who was warmly attached to the interest of France, and to the Catholic religion.

gion. He was, therefore, obliged to have recourſe to more harſh and diſagreeable methods; and to compel the Scots, by force of arms, to ſubmit to a meaſure, to which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to agree. He accordingly entered that kingdom by the way of Berwick, and continued his march towards Edinburgh, without meeting with any reſiſtance, except from ſome ſmall caſtles, which were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The governor of Scotland had collected the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, which was twice as numerous as that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on a very advantageous ground, ſecured by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh.

The Engliſh came within ſight of them at Faſide; and, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh between the horſe, in which the Scots were repulſed, Somerſet began to prepare himſelf for a more general and deciſive action. Before, however, he would riſk a battle, he rode out with the earl of Warwick to reconnoitre the Scottiſh camp, which he found ſo well defended, that he judged it would be impracticable to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs.

He therefore sent another letter to Arran; and offered immediately to quit the kingdom, as well as to repair the damages he had done, provided the Scots would engage not to betroth their queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, until she should be of an age to choose a husband for herself.

The Scots, instead of ascribing these reasonable terms to the equity and moderation of the protector, imputed them to his fear and apprehension, and therefore determined to take advantage of those distressful circumstances, in which they foolishly imagined he was involved.

Deluded, likewise, by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were abominable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever attend their arms.

In this ridiculous opinion they were still further confirmed, when they saw the protector alter his position, and advance towards the sea; nor did they entertain the least doubt that he intended to re-imbark, and make his escape on board his ships, which, at that very time, moved into the harbour.

Resolving, therefore, to cut off his retreat, they abandoned their camp; and, crossing

croſſing the river Eſke, advanced into the plain.

They were drawn up in three bodies: Angus led the van; Arran conducted the main body; and Huntley commanded the rear. Their cavalry conſiſted only of light horſe, which were ſtationed on their left flank, interlined with ſome Iriſh archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this ſervice.

Somerſet was overjoyed when he ſaw this movement of the Scottiſh army; and, as the Engliſh had uſually been victorious in regular engagements, he conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. He formed his van on the left, fartheſt from the ſea, and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, until the enemy ſhould approach: he drew up his main body, and his rear, towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Gray, at the head of the men at arms, and directed him to attack the Scots in flank, but not till the front of both armies ſhould be engaged.

While the enemy were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips: the maſter of Graham was killed; the Iriſh archers were thrown into confuſion; and even the other troops began to ſtagger: when the lord

Gray, obſerving their ſituation, neglected his orders, quitted his poſt, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horſe, attacked the Scottiſh infantry, in hopes of finiſhing the action by one vigorous effort.

He ſoon found, however, that he had over-rated his own abilities, and entertained too mean an opinion of the enemy. He was checked, in his career, by a ſlough and a ditch, behind which were poſted the Scottiſh infantry, armed with ſpears; and the field, on which they ſtood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay acroſs their front, and diſordered the ranks of the Engliſh cavalry.

From all theſe impediments, the attack of this body was weak and irregular; and, as they were received on the points of the Scottiſh ſpears, which were longer than the lances of the Engliſh horſemen, they were in a moment repulſed, overthrown, and defeated.

Gray himſelf was dangerouſly wounded: lord Edward Seymour, ſon to the protector, was unhorſed: the ſtandard had well nigh fallen into the hands of the enemy: and, had the Scots been provided with a good body of cavalry, who might have improved the advantage, the whole Engliſh army would have run the moſt imminent riſk of a total overthrow.

Mean

Mean while the protector, aſſiſted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, exerted his utmoſt efforts, in order to rally the cavalry. Warwick diſcovered equal ſkill and preſence of mind in preſerving the ranks of the foot, on which the horſe had recoiled: he detached Sir Peter Meucas, captain of the foot hackbutters, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of ſome Italian and Spaniſh hackbutters, on horſeback; and commanded them to ply the Scottiſh infantry with their ſhot.

They inſtantly advanced to the ſlough, and diſcharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ſhips galled them on the flank: the artillery, planted on an eminence, harraſſed them in the front: the Engliſh archers overwhelmed them with thick and repeated ſhowers of arrows: and the vanguard, deſcending from the hill, advanced againſt them with the moſt firm and determined reſolution.

Diſmayed by all theſe ſurrounding dangers, the Scottiſh van began to retreat: the retreat was preſently turned into a flight, which was begun by the Iriſh archers. The panic of the van ſoon reached the main body, and, paſſing from thence to the rear, rendered the whole field one general ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation.

The Engliſh army, obſerving, from the heights, the ſituation of the Scots, began the purſuit with loud ſhouts and acclamations, which contributed ſtill more to intimidate the vanquiſhed foe. The horſe, in particular, deſirous of revenging the affront which they had received in the beginning of the action, committed the moſt terrible havock among the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the ſpace of five miles, the whole ground was covered with the dead and the dying.

The prieſts eſpecially, and the monks, were indulged with no quarter; and the Engliſh made ſport of butchering men, who, from their uncommon zeal and animoſity, had embarked in an enterprize ſo extremely foreign to their character and profeſſion.

Never was victory more deciſive; and never was victory purchaſed at an eaſier rate by the conquerors. The Engliſh loſt not above two hundered men; and, according to the loweſt calculation, there fell above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was denominated the battle of Pinkey, becauſe it was fought on a plain adjoining to a nobleman's ſeat of that name.

Nor was this the only misfortune which the Scots ſuffered in the courſe of the year.

While

While the regent's attention was wholly employed in oppoſing the duke of Somerſet, the lord Wharton, and the earl of Lennox, entering Scotland by the Weſtern Marches, reduced ſeveral caſtles, and ſpread terror and deſolation over all the neighbouring counties.

Had the protector improved his advantage, he might have compelled the Scots to agree to any terms he might have thought proper to impoſe: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard ſome counſellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were forming cabals againſt his authority. Having reduced the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, and ſeveral other ſmall places, and received the ſubmiſſion of ſome of the ſouthern counties, he withdrew his forces out of Scotland.

The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhips along the coaſt, ſubdued Broughty, in the Frith of Tay; and, having ſtrengthened it with ſome new fortifications, they ſupplied it with a numerous garriſon. Arran begged he might be allowed to ſend commiſſioners to treat of an accommodation; and Somerſet, having named Berwick as the place of meeting, inveſted Warwick with full powers to ſettle the preliminaries; but no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared. The propoſal of the Scots was only an artifice

to

to gain time, until they ſhould receive aſſiſtance from France.

The protector had no ſooner returned to London, than he convoked a parliament; and, being ſomewhat elated with the ſucceſs of his late expedition, he obtained a patent, empowering him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench, at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy all the honours and privileges that any princes of the blood, or uncles of the kings of England, had ever poſſeſſed. This diſtinction, however, expoſed him to the hatred and envy of almoſt all the nobility, who could not bear to ſee themſelves ſo greatly eclipſed by a perſon of their own rank and ſtation.

But if Somerſet diſcovered his vanity and weakneſs in aſſuming ſo much ſtate and grandeur, he merits the higheſt praiſe on account of the laws enacted in this ſeſſion, by which the rigour of former ſtatutes was greatly ſoftened, and ſome ſecurity given to the privileges of the people.

All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-eighth of Edward the third; all laws paſſed during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollards or heretics, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles. No perſon

perſon was to be accuſed of words, but within a month after they were ſpoken.

By theſe repeals, ſome of the moſt ſevere laws that ever were enacted in England, were annulled; and the people began to have the happy proſpect of enjoying ſome ſhare of civil and religious liberty.

Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was liable to the penalty of burning: but there was no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be aſcertained; a circumſtance, which might either be advantageous or prejudicial to public ſecurity, according to the rigour or lenity of the judges.

The parliament repealed that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made equal to a ſtatute. They likewiſe mitigated that other law, by which the king was empowered to annul all laws enacted before the twenty-fourth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution; but could not reverſe any effects which had already enſued from them.

There were likewiſe ſeveral laws enacted which contributed greatly to promote the Reformation. The cup was reſtored to the laity: private maſſes were aboliſhed: the king was veſted with a power of creating biſhops, without any election of the chapter: the biſhops

biſhops were enjoined to iſſue their writs, and hold their courts, in the king's name; vagabonds were condemned to be ſlaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron; an act commonly ſuppoſed to be levelled againſt the ſtrolling monks and friars.

The chantries and free chapels had been granted, by act of parliament, to the late king; and he had appointed commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of the revenues; but, as they had not fully executed their office, it was judged expedient to make a renewal of the grant.

The preamble to the ſtatute imports, that theſe funds ſhould be applied to good and godly uſes, in erecting and endowing grammar ſchools; in enlarging the univerſities, and augmenting the ſalaries of the profeſſors; and in making a better and more regular proviſion for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courties had already devoured the prey in their imagination; nor was it long before it was divided among them.

It was likewiſe decreed, that all who denied the ſupremacy of the king, or maintained that of the pope, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould be ſubject to the

the pains of præmunire; and, for the third offence, be attainted of high-treaſon.

The penalties of this laſt crime were denounced againſt all thoſe who ſhould endeavour, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to beſtow them on any other; as well as againſt the heirs of the crown, who ſhould attempt to uſurp upon one another, and to break the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion.

The convocation aſſembled at the ſame time with the parliament; and, as it appeared that the freedom of their debates was greatly hampered by the rigour of the ſix articles, the king indulged them with a diſpenſation from that ſtatute, before it was annulled by parliament.

The lower houſe of convocation preſented a petition, deſiring they might have the liberty of ſitting with the commons in parliament; or, if this privilege, which they pretended to claim by ancient right, was denied them, they required that no law, concerning religion, might be enacted in parliament, withont their conſent and approbation.

But the principles of that age were more favourable to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical power; and, though it is probable that the

the lower clergy had once a right of sending representatives to the house of commons; yet that practice had been discontinued for above two centuries; and the present juncture was, by no means, a proper season for endeavouring to revive it.

Though the protector had agreed to the repeal of that law, which vested the king's proclamation with the force of a statute, he did not mean to renounce the arbitrary or discretionary power, which had ever been exercised by the crown, and which differs, in very few respects, from the power of making laws.*

Nevertheless it must be owned, that he did not employ this authority in any bad purpose. He issued an order, enjoining, that candles should be no longer carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, or palms on Palm-sunday: that, as images were abused to the purposes of idolatry and superstition, they should be removed from all the churches: that, as private masses were abolished, a new communion-office should be formed; and that, as some factious priests had endeavoured, in their public discourses, to sow the seeds of sedition among the people, sermons for the future should only be delivered in the principal

* A. D. 1548.

principal churches, and at ſome particular faſts and feſtivals.

But in proportion as Somerſet encouraged the Reformation in England, he found the difficulty of accompliſhing the union with Scotland encreaſe; and the queen dowager, as well as the clergy, conceived a more violent antipathy to a nation, which had departed ſo far from the principles of the Romiſh church.

The protector having reduced Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified by lord Gray: he had likewiſe raiſed ſome fortifications at Lauder; and he imagined that theſe two places, together with Broughty and ſome ſmaller caſtles, which were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, would ſerve to overawe the Scots; and would afford him an eaſy entrance into the heart of the kingdom.

Arran, having in vain endeavoured to ſurprize Broughty, depended chiefly on the ſuccours which he expected from France, for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Frith of Forth, to the number of ſix thouſand men, commanded by Deſſé d'Eſpanvilliers, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, and Melleraye.

The Scots were, at that time, ſo diſheartened by their late misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage

the whole country, and make incurſions to the very gates of the capital: but, on the arrival of the French ſuccours, they began to recruit their ſpirits; and, having joined Deſſé with a conſiderable reinforcement, they undertook the ſiege of Haddington.

This was an enterprize for which they were themſelves entirely unqualified; being only accuſtomed to a kind of deſultory war, where they ſerved without pay, and with a few weeks proviſions, which they brought along with them. Even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in reducing the garriſon by hunger; and, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to take the place by ſtorm, the blockade of Haddington was regularly formed. The garriſon made ſome vigorous ſallies, in all of which they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

The frequent hoſtilities which the late king and the protector had committed againſt Scotland, inſtead of ſubduing the ſpirit of the people, had ſerved only to inflame their reſentment, and to render them more averſe to that confederacy, which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who wiſhed well to the Engliſh alliance, were unwilling to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl

of

of Huntley humourouſly obſerved, that he had no objection to the match, but he hated the manner of wooing.

The queen-dowager taking advantage of theſe ſentiments of the people, convoked a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed, that the young queen, for her greater ſecurity, ſhould be conveyed to France, and put under the protection of that ancient ally.

This meaſure was warmly oppoſed by ſeveral of the members, and particularly by the regent; but that nobleman was eaſily gained over, by a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, which was now ſettled upon him, by the title of duke of Chatelrault which he obtained for himſelf, and the command of an hundred men at arms which he procured for his ſon. And as the clergy dreaded the conſequences of the Engliſh alliance, they ſupported the propoſal with all the credit and influence which they poſſeſſed.

It was therefore reſolved to convey the queen to France; and, what was ſuppoſed to be a neceſſary conſequence, to beſtow her, in marriage, on the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, immediately hoiſted ſail as if he meant to return home; but when he reached the o-

pen sea, he directed his course northwards, doubled the point of the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton; a very uncommon and hazardous passage for ships of that fabric.

The young queen embarked in one of the gallies; and being accompanied by the lords Areskine and Levingston, she set sail, and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, arrived in the port of Brest, from whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after affianced to the dauphin.

Somerset, involved in difficulties at home, and having little hopes of succeeding in his enterprize against Scotland, was extremely desirous of compromising the dispute with that kingdom. With this view he offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they demanded the restitution of all the places which he had taken, the negociation proved ineffectual.

The Scots surprized the fortresses of Hume and Fast-castle, and cut the garrison in pieces: they repulsed with considerable loss, the English, who, under the conduct of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, and then at Montrose: in the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct; in the latter action Areskine of Dun acquired great honour.

Sir

Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer endeavoured, at the head of a ſtrong body, to throw ſuccours into Haddington; but theſe troops falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt totally deſtroyed. A ſmall body, indeed, of two hundred men eluded all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington with ſome ammunition and proviſions; but notwithſtanding this ſupply, the garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremity, that the protector was obliged to provide for its relief in a more effectual manner.

He aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, and reinforcing it with three thouſand Germans, who on the diſſolution of the Proteſtant alliance, had entered into the ſervice of England, he beſtowed the command of the whole on the earl of Shrewſbury. No ſooner did the Engliſh approach, than Deſſé abandoned the ſiege, and retreated, with ſome difficulty, to Edinburgh, where he took poſt on a very advantageous ground.

Had Shrewſbury been able to attack the enemy on their march, he would, in all likelihood, have gained an eaſy victory; but, as he had loſt that opportunity, and could not, with any probability of ſucceſs, attempt to force them in their preſent ſituation, he contented himſelf with having

relieved Haddington, and then returned to England.

Though the friendſhip of France was of great importance to the Scots, in enabling them to defend their country againſt the invaſion of England, they derived ſtill more advantage from the feuds and animoſities which embroiled the councils of that latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not ſatisfied with the high ſtations which they ſeverally poſſeſſed, and the great power and influence which both of them enjoyed, had conceived the moſt violent hatred and antipathy againſt each other; and the whole court and kingdom was diſtracted by their oppoſite cabals and intrigues.

Lord Seymour was a man of unbounded ambition, intolerable pride, and inſatiable avarice; and though poſſeſſed of greater abilities than the protector, he was not ſo much eſteemed and reſpected by the nation. He had, by his flattery and addreſs, gained ſuch an aſcendant over the affections of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe gave him her hand immediately after the deceaſe of the late king; inſomuch, that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it would have been difficult to determine who was the real father of the child.

The

*CAR* Earl of *SOMERSET.*

*Engrav'd for Rider's History of England*

The wealth and credit of this connexion ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave offence to the dutcheſs of Somerſet, who, vexed to ſee herſelf eclipſed by the wife of the younger brother, employed all her influence with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to excite, and then to inflame a jealouſy between the two brothers.

The firſt ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding appeared when the protector was engaged in the Scottiſh expedition. The ſecretary, Paget, a man warmly attached to the intereſt of Somerſet, obſerved, that Seymour was forming cabals among the counſellors; was debauching, by preſents, the king's ſervants; and even attempting, by very unjuſtifiable methods, to engroſs the affections of the young monarch. Paget expoſtulated with him on the folly and imprudence of ſuch unwarrantable proceedings; intreated him to reflect on the numerous enemies whom the ſudden riſe of their family had created; and aſſured him, that any diſagreement between him and the protector, would be greedily ſeized, in order to accompliſh the deſtruction of both.

Finding his remonſtrances entirely diſregarded, he tranſmitted an account of the matter to Somerſet, adviſing him, at the ſame time, to abandon the enterprize againſt

gainſt Scotland, and return home without delay, the better to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies.

In the following parliament, the admiral's deſigns appeared ſtill more dangerous to the peace of the kingdom; and, as he had engaged many partizans and retainers, he openly endeavoured to overturn his brother's authority. He affirmed, that, during former minorities, the office of protector of the kingdom, and that of governour of the king's perſon, had never been entruſted in the ſame hands; and that the preſent union of theſe two important poſts inveſted Somerſet with a degree of power, which could not ſafely be committed to any ſubject. He even perſuaded the young king to ſend a letter to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governour; and he had ſecured a party in the two houſes, by which he imagined he ſhould be able to accompliſh his aim.

The deſign was diſcovered before it could be carried into execution; and ſome common friends were ſent to expoſtulate with him, and try, if poſſible, to divert him from his purpoſe: but he lent a deaf ear to all their remonſtrances; he even let fall ſome menacing expreſſions, and raſhly threatened, that, if he was thwarted in his attempt,

attempt, he would make this the blackeſt parliament that ever was in England.

The council ordered him to appear before them, and anſwer for his conduct; but he flatly refuſed to obey their order: they then began to threaten in their turn, and told him, that the king's letter, inſtead of ſerving as an apology for his proceedings, would be conſidered as a criminal enterprize, and be regarded as a deſign to diſturb the public tranquillity, by forming a ſeparate intereſt with a child and minor. They even dropt ſome menaces of committing him to the Tower for his preſumption; and the admiral, finding his ſcheme defeated, was glad to ſubmit, and to deſire a reconciliation with his brother.

This agreement was probably ſincere on the part of Somerſet, who was a man of a mild and moderate temper, and loved his brother with the moſt cordial affection; but it was far from being equally ſo on the part of the admiral, who glowed with indignation at his late diſappointment, and reſolved to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of renewing his criminal enterprizes.

His ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, died in child bed; but inſtead of conſidering this incident as a bar to his ambitious views, he raiſed on it the ſcheme of a more ſud-

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den and extraordinary elevation. He paid his addreſſes to the lady Elizabeth, who was then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and that princeſs, who, during her whole life-time, was extremely fond of admirers, ſeems to have liſtened, with ſome pleaſure, to the courtſhip of a man, who was poſſeſſed of every qualification that could engage the affections of the fair.

But as Henry the eighth, by his laſt will, had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, in caſe they ſhould marry without the conſent of his executors; and as Seymour could never expect to obtain their approbation; it was thence inferred, that he deſigned to accompliſh his purpoſe by methods ſtill more raſh and more unjuſtifiable.

This ſuſpicion, far from being weakened, was rather confirmed by the other proceedings of the admiral. He continued to corrupt, by promiſes and preſents, the fidelity of all thoſe who had acceſs to the king's perſon: he endeavoured to engage that young prince in his intereſt: he found means to carry on a ſecret correſpondence with him: he inveighed, with great acrimony, againſt his brother's adminiſtration; and affirmed, that, by enliſting Germans, and other foreigners, he meant to eſtabliſh a mercenary army, which threatened the authority

authority of the king, and the liberty of the people, with the moſt imminent danger.

By his cunning and addreſs, he engaged in his party ſome of the principal nobility of the kingdom; and had diſtributed his emiſſaries all over England: he even condeſcended to court the friendſhip of the moſt popular perſons among the vulgar; and had computed, that he could, on occaſion, aſſemble an army of ten thouſand men, among his ſervants, tenants, and retainers: he had already provided arms for the uſe of theſe forces; and, having ſecured in his intereſt Sir John Sharington, a man of a vicious and profligate life, who was maſter of the mint at Briſtol, he hoped he ſhould be eaſily able to ſupply himſelf with money.

Somerſet was fully apprized of all theſe unwarrantable proceedings, and endeavoured, by the moſt gentle methods, by entreaty, argument, and even by beſtowing new favours upon him, to divert him from his treaſonable deſigns; but finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he reſolved to have recourſe to more ſevere and diſagreeable remedies.

In this reſolution he was further confirmed by the artful inſinuations of Dudley earl of Warwick, a man of great abilities but ſtill

ſtill greater vices, who exerted his utmoſt endeavours to inflame the quarrel between the two brothers; and with ſo much the more zeal, as he had formed a ſcheme of raiſing his own fortune on the ruins of both.

Influenced by a regard for his own ſafety, and the public tranquillity, and inſtigated at the ſame time by the perſuaſion of Warwick, the protector deprived his brother of the office of admiral; and ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his confederates were likewiſe apprehended; and three privy-counſellors, being ſent to examine them, reported, that they had made the moſt full and important diſcoveries; yet ſtill the protector was unwilling to proceed to the laſt extremity, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſave his brother.

He offered to drop the proſecution, if Seymour would agree to a cordial reconcilement; and, abandoning all his ambitious hopes, be ſatisfied with a private life, and withdraw into the country. But as Seymour made no other anſwer to theſe friendly overtures than threats and defiances, he ordered a charge of high-treaſon, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, to be preſented againſt him; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council.

It is affirmed, that every particular was inconteſtibly proved, as well by witneſſes as by his own hand-writing; yet the council thought proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order to examine the priſoner in a more full and circumſtantial manner. He was not intimidated by their appearance; but boldly inſiſted on a fair trial; deſired to be confronted with the witneſſes; demanded that the charge ſhould be left with him, in order to be conſidered; and flatly refuſed to anſwer to any captious queſtions that might be put to him.

It ſhould ſeem, that, notwithſtanding what is alledged by moſt hiſtorians, there muſt have been ſome defect in the evidence againſt Seymour, when ſuch demands, founded on the plaineſt principles of law and equity, were abſolutely rejected. It appears, indeed, from a careful and candid examination of the charge, that many of the articles were general, and hardly ſuſceptible of any proof; that ſome of them, if true, might bear a more favourable conſtruction; and that, though in the main Seymour was certainly a very dangerous ſubject, yet he had not proceeded far in the proſecution of thoſe treaſonable deſigns of which he was accuſed.

The principal part of his guilt, ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unjuſtifiable practices

in the admiralty, by which pyrates were allowed to infeſt the ſeas, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants.

But the miniſtry had, at that time, a ready inſtrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament: and needed not give themſelves any trouble with regard either to the guilt of the perſons who were accuſed, or the evidence that was brought againſt them.

A parliament being aſſembled, it was moved to proceed againſt Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being perſuaded, though with great difficulty, to agree to it, a conſiderable ſtreſs was put upon his approbation.*

The matter was firſt laid before the upper houſe; and ſeveral lords riſing up in their ſeats, gave a full and circumſtantial detail of all that they knew concerning Seymour's conduct, and his treaſonable words or actions. Theſe verbal declarations were admitted as undoubted evidence; and though the priſoner had formerly ſecured a number of the nobility in his intereſt, no one had either the courage or equity to propoſe, that he ſhould be heard in his own defence; that the teſtimony againſt him ſhould be given in a legal manner; and that

* A. D. 1549.

that he ſhould have the liberty of confronting his accuſers.

The commons diſcovered a little more regard to the forms of juſtice: there were even ſome members who ventured to declaim againſt the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder, paſſed in abſence; and boldly affirmed, that, according to the laws of the land, no man could be juſtly condemned, until he had been indulged with a formal trial. But upon receiving a meſſage from the king, commanding them to proceed, and promiſing that they ſhould be furniſhed with the ſame proofs which had ſatisfied the peers, they were at laſt perſuaded to acquieſce.

The bill paſſed in a very full houſe. The number of thoſe who voted for it, amounted almoſt to four hundred; and there were not above nine or ten who voted againſt it. The ſentence was ſoon after carried into execution; and the priſoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was ſigned by Somerſet, who loſt much of his popularity by the violent and illegal manner in which he had conducted the proſecution.

For, though the public ſafety ſeemed to demand the ſacrifice of Seymour; yet, as the forms of juſtice had been groſsly violated in his trial, and as the ſame method might be employed by cruel and tyrannical

kings, in order to take away the lives of the most virtuous and innocent subjects, the people could not fail to be incensed against the author of such a dangerous and fatal precedent.

All the other considerable business transacted in this session, related to ecclesiastical matters; which were now the principal concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been ordered, by the council, to form a new liturgy for the service of the church; and they had performed the work committed to them, with equal delicacy and judgment.

They retained as much of the ancient mass, as was consistent with the principles of the reformers: they indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which is too apt to prevail in all great innovations; and they imagined they had composed a service, which might be safely adopted by Christians of every denomination.

The mass had been always celebrated in Latin; a practice, which, however absurd and ridiculous, had been extremely useful to the clergy, as it impressed the people with a notion of some mysterious unknown virtue in that ceremony, and effectually checked all their pretensions to a thorough knowledge of their religion.

But

But as the reformers reſolved to indulge the laity with the right of private judgment, the tranſlation of the liturgy, as well as the ſcriptures, into the vulgar tongue, ſeemed more agreeable to the ſpirit of their religion; and this alteration, with the omiſſion of prayers to ſaints, and ſome other ſuperſtitious rites, was the chief difference between the old maſs and the new liturgy.

The parliament eſtabliſhed this new form of worſhip in all the churches, and ordained that a perfect uniformity ſhould be obſerved in all religious rites and ceremonies. It is to be lamented, however, that, in order to attain this end, they were guilty of ſome of the moſt ſhocking barbarities, of which they had formerly accuſed the Papiſts.

The council granted a commiſſion to the primate and ſome others, empowering them to ſeize and examine all Anabaptiſts, heretics, and deſpiſers of the book of common prayer.

They were ordered to reclaim them, if poſſible; to impoſe penance on them; and to give them abſolution: or, if they ſhould prove incorrigible, to excommunicate and impriſon them; and deliver them over to the ſecular arm: in the diſcharge of this office, the commiſſioners were not reſtricted

to the ordinary methods of trial; but were ſuffered to neglect the forms of law; and if any ſtatutes ſhould happen to claſh with the powers in the commiſſion, they were preſently over-ruled and annulled by the council.

Some tradeſmen in London were brought before theſe commiſſioners, and, among other heretical opinions, were charged with aſſerting, that a man regenerate could not ſin, and that though the outward man might offend, the inward was utterly incapable of guilt. They were eaſily perſuaded to recant, and were then diſmiſſed.

But there was a woman, named Joan Boacher, or Joan of Kent, who was accuſed of another kind of hereſy, and who was ſo inflexibly obſtinate, that no arguments, importunities, or menaces, could induce her to abjure.

She maintained, "that Chriſt was not "truly incarnate of the virgin, whoſe fleſh, "being the outward man, was ſinfully "begotten, and born in ſin; and conſe- "quently he could not partake of it: "but the word, by the conſent of the "inward man of the virgin, was made "fleſh."

As this opinion was not orthodox, it was reſolved to commit the woman to the flames for

for her hereſy. But the young king, tho' only in the twelfth year of his age, diſcovered more ſenſe and judgment than all his counſellors and preceptors; and he long refuſed to ſign the warrant for her execution. He ſaid to Cranmer, who was employed to perſuade him into a compliance, "What, my lord, would you have me to "ſend her quick to the devil, in her "error?"

The primate replied, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and thoſe which were directly ſubverſive of the apoſtles creed: that theſe latter were impieties againſt the Almighty, which the prince, as God's ſubſtitute, ought to extirpate; in the ſame manner, as the king's ſubſtitutes were bound to puniſh offences againſt the king's perſon.

At length the young king, ſilenced rather than convinced by Cranmer's arguments, ſet his hand to the warrant, though not without tears in his eyes; and he told the primate, that, if any wrong was done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. Cranmer, after making a new effort in order to perſuade the woman to a recantation, and finding all his endeavours ineffectual, at laſt committed her to the flames.

Some

Some time after, a Dutchman, named Van Paris, accused of the heresy which hath since been known by the appellation of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He underwent his fate with so much courage, and even satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots, which were consuming him; a species of resolution, of which there were many instances among the martyrs of this age.

These severe proceedings soon reduced the whole nation to a conformity with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone still continued to adhere to the church of Rome, and absolutely refused to observe the established form of worship. When pressed and threatened on this head, she had recourse to the good offices of the emperor; and, by his mediation, she obtained from the council a temporary indulgence.

It is an observation as just as it is common, that there is no evil but what may be productive of some good. No institution can well be supposed to be more prejudicial to the interests of mankind, than that of monks and friars; yet was it attended with many good effects, which, having ceased with the destruction of monasteries, occasioned great complaints among the people of England.

The

The monks, living always in their convents, in the heart of their eſtates, ſpent their money in the country, and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for all kinds of commodities, and rendered themſelves extremely popular by their liberality and munificence; and though their hoſpitality was but too much calculated to encourage idleneſs, and prevent the encreaſe of public riches, yet did it furniſh many with a ſure remedy againſt the calamities of extreme want and neceſſity.

Add to this, that the friars, being confined by the rules of their inſtitution to a certain manner of life, and incapable of tranſmitting their poſſeſſions to their poſterity, or indeed of having any legitimate iſſue, they had not the ſame motives for avarice with other men; and it is generally owned that they were in England, what they are ſtill in Roman Catholic countries, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords.

The abbots and priors were permitted to grant leaſes at a low rate, and to receive, in return, a large gratuity from the tenant; a cuſtom which is ſtill retained by the biſhops and colleges.

But when the abbey-lands were divided among the great nobility and courtiers, they were ſoon ſubjected to a different management: the rents of farms were advanced, while

while the tenants found greater difficulty in diſpoſing of the produce: the money was ſquandered away in the capital; and the farmers, reſiding at a diſtance, were haraſſed by the oppreſſions of their new maſters, or by the ſtill greater extortions of the ſtewards.

Theſe calamities of the common people were at that time encreaſed by other cauſes. The arts of manufacture had been carried to a higher degree of perfection in other European countries than in England; and, even in this kingdom, theſe arts were better underſtood than the practice of agriculture; a profeſſion, which, of all the mechanical employments, requires the greateſt judgment and experience.

Wool became extremely dear both at home and abroad: paſturage was found more advantageous than unſkilful tillage: whole eſtates were incloſed and converted to that purpoſe: the tenants, conſidered as an uſeleſs burden, were driven from their habitations: and the cottagers, robbed of the commons, on which they were wont to feed their cattle, were involved in the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs; and a great decreaſe of people, as well as diminution of the former plenty, was obſerved in the kingdom.

This

This grievance had now prevailed for a long tract of time; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it in his Utopia, remarks, that a ſheep had become in England a more voracious animal than a lion or a wolf, and ſwallowed up whole villages, cities, and counties.

Beſides, the general increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, ever ſince the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, naturally tended to inflame theſe complaints. The great and growing demand, in the more commercial countries, had every where raiſed the price of commodities, which could be eaſily tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill continued nearly at the former rates; and the poor people loudly complained, that they could no longer earn a livelihood by their induſtry.

It was only by addition of toil and application that they were enabled to procure a ſubſiſtence; and though this increaſe of induſtry was at laſt produced by their preſent poverty, and was extremely beneficial to civil ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to diveſt themſelves of their former habits of indolence, and nothing but extreme want could compel them to that exertion of their faculties.

It

It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the extravagance of Henry the eighth, had involved him in ſuch ſtraits and difficulties, that he had been obliged to ſupply his preſent exigencies by the pernicious practice of debaſing the coin; and the expenſive wars, in which the protector had been engaged, had forced him to carry the ſame abuſe to a ſtill higher pitch.

This imprudent and impolitic meaſure was attended with the uſual conſequences: the good coin was hoarded up or exported: baſe metal was coined at home or imported from foreign countries: the common people who received their wages in this latter, could not purchaſe the neceſſaries of life at the uſual prices: an univerſal jealouſy and ſtagnation of trade prevailed; and the whole kingdom reſounded with clamour and complaints againſt the government.

The protector, who was fond of popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours in order to redreſs their grievances. He appointed a commiſſion for making enquiry concerning incloſures; and publiſhed a proclamation, enjoining all encloſures to be laid open by a certain day.

The people finding themſelves encouraged by the government, began to riſe

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in ſeveral places, and to commit diſorders; but they were ſoon appeaſed by remonſtrances and perſuaſion. In order to remove the ſubject of their complaints, Somerſet appointed new commiſſioners, whom he diſpatched to all parts of the kingdom, with full power to try and decide all cauſes about incloſures, high-ways, and cottages.

As this meaſure was extremely diſagreeable to the nobility and gentry, they loudly exclaimed that the commiſſion was arbitrary and illegal; and the common people apprehending it would be defeated, and eagerly wiſhing for immediate redreſs, could no longer reſtrain their fury, but reſolved to procure a remedy by force of arms.

The inſurrection began at once in ſeveral counties of England, as if the populace had engaged in a general conſpiracy. The rioters in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert: thoſe in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Glouceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the inſurgents were ſlain in the field: others ſuffered by martial law. The commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were appeaſed by gentler means: but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Nor-

folk roſe to a higher and more dangerous pitch.

The people in Devonſhire began with the uſual pretext of incloſures, and of the cruelty and rapacity of the gentry; but the pariſh prieſt of Sampford-Courtenay found means to give their diſcontents a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of this ſubject in the preſent conjuncture, made the inſurrection appear ſtill more dangerons.

In other counties, the gentry had remained firmly attached to the government; but here many of them eſpouſed the cauſe of the people; and among others, Humphry Arundel, governour of St. Michael's Mount. The inſurgents were reduced to the form of a regular army, which conſiſted of no leſs than ten thouſand men.

The lord Ruſſel was detached againſt them at the head of a ſmall force; but finding himſelf too weak to attack them in the open field, he kept at a diſtance, and began to enter into a negociation with them, hoping that their fury would cool by degrees, and that they would be obliged to diſperſe for want of proviſions.

They preſented a ſet of articles, demanding, that the maſs ſhould be reſtored, half of the abbey-lands reſumed, the law of the

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ſix articles put in execution, holy bread and holy water reſpected, and all other particular grievances redreſſed.

The council, having peruſed theſe demands, returned a haughty anſwer; adviſed the rebels to lay down their arms; and promiſed to indulge them with a free pardon upon their immediate ſubmiſſion.

Provoked at this diſappointment, they advanced to Exeter; carrying before them croſſes, banners, holy water, candleſticks, and other implements of the ancient ſuperſtition; together with the hoſt, which they covered with a canopy.

The inhabitants of Exeter were no ſooner informed of their approach, than they ſhut their gates; and the rebels endeavoured to take the place firſt by ſtorm, and then by mining, but were defeated in both their attempts.

In the mean time lord Ruſſel lay at Honiton, until being joined by Sir William Herbert, lord Gray and Battiſta Spinola with ſome German horſe, and Italian arquebuſiers, he determined to undertake the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity.

He accordingly attacked the rebels, drove them from all their poſts, ſlew a great number of them both in the action and purſuit, and took many priſoners. A-

rundel and the other leaders were conveyed to London, tried, and executed: many of the lower sort were condemned by martial law: and the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own tower, clad in his popish robes, with his beads at his girdle.

The sedition in Norfolk was carried to a still greater height, and was productive of more fatal consequences. The people were at first excited, as in other counties, by the complaint against inclosures; but finding their numbers increase to twenty thousand men, they grew proud of their strength, and presumed to aspire to more exorbitant pretensions. They demanded the suppression of the gentry, the nomination of a new set of privy-counsellors, and the restoration of the ancient rites and ceremonies.

This lawless rabble was headed by one Kit, a tanner, who exercised his authority with the utmost insolence and outrage. Having established his quarters on Moushold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, since known by the name of the Oak of Reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he issued such decrees and edicts as might naturally be expected from his character and situation.

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The marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent againſt him; but was worſted in an action, in which lord Sheffield loſt his life. The protector loved popularity, and was unwilling to go in perſon againſt the rebels: he therefore detached the earl of Warwick againſt them with a body of ſix thouſand men, which had been raiſed for the Scottiſh wars; and by this means he furniſhed his mortal enemy with an opportunity of encreaſing his fame and character.

Warwick, having defeated ſome ſmall parties of the rebels, at laſt attacked their main body, and put them to flight. Two thouſand of them were killed in the action and purſuit: Kit was executed at the caſtle of Norwich: nine of his followers were hanged on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the inſurrection was entirely ſuppreſſed.

Some rebels in Yorkſhire, hearing of the fate of their companions, embraced the offer of pardon, and laid down thir arms; and a general indemnity was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector.

But though all the commotions in England were thus eaſily ſuppreſſed, and no traces of them ſeemed to remain, they were yet productive of very bad conſequences with

regard to the foreign intereſts of the nation.

The Scots, taking advantage of theſe diſtractions, re-poſſeſſed themſelves of the town of Haddington: and the king of France laid hold of the ſame opportunity to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and of all the other places which Henry the eighth had conquered in that kingdom.

He levied an army under other pretences; and falling ſuddenly into the Boullonois, reduced the caſtles of Sellacque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well provided with garriſons, ammunition, and all kinds of military ſtores. He attempted to take Boulenberg by ſtorm, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, thinking it impoſſible to defend the place after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, demoliſhed the fortifications, and withdrew to Boulogne.

The heavy rains which fell during the harveſt, and a plague which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſubduing Boulogne this campaign; and he accordingly retired to Paris. He entruſted the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, afterwards ſo well known by the name of Admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to undertake the ſiege in the beginning of the ſpring. This general, being naturally

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of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit, endeavoured to reduce the place even during the winter; but all his attempts were defeated by the bravery of the garriſon.

Hoſtilities had no ſooner commenced between France and England, than the protector reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf by an alliance with the emperor; and with that view he diſpatched ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then reſided, in order to co-operate with Sir Philip Hobby, the ordinary ambaſſador, in concluding a league.

But Charles had formed a ſcheme of enlarging his dominions by acting the part of champion to the Catholic religion; and though he could have wiſhed to fortify himſelf by an Engliſh alliance againſt the king of France, his capital enemy, he yet imagined it would be altogether inconſiſtent with his other projects to engage in a ſtrict confederacy with a nation, which had entirely alienated itſelf from the church of Rome. He therefore declined the offers of the protector, and artfully eluded the applications of the ambaſſadors.

Somerſet, diſappointed in this quarter, was diſpoſed to conclude a peace with France and Scotland: he not only found himſelf unable to ſupport ſuch ruinous and expen-

expenſive wars; but he even apprehended that the real object of hoſtilities were entirely removed.

The Scots had ſent their queen out of the kingdom; and conſequently could not, if ever ſo willing, fulfil the contract which had been made with Edward: and as Henry the eighth had agreed to reſtore Boulogne in fifteen hundred and fifty four, it appeared to be a matter of no great conſequence to perform that article a few years ſooner.

But when he explained theſe reaſons to the council, he was ſtrongly oppoſed by his enemies, who ſeeing him unable to continue the war, were reſolved, for that very reaſon, to thwart all his meaſures for an accommodation. The court of England was diſtracted by the moſt violent factions and animoſities; and matters were drawing towards an iſſue, deſtructive of the protector's authority.

Somerſet had no ſooner procured the patent, inveſting him with the regal authority, than he began to diſregard the opinion of the other counſellors; and being puffed up with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkney, he imagined, that every one ought, in all affairs of ſtate, to ſubmit to his ſentiments.

All

All thoſe, who were not blindly devoted to his will, were ſure to be neglected; whoever preſumed to oppoſe his meaſures, were treated with marks of anger and diſdain; and while he fooliſhly aſpired to the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs, it plainly appeared that his capacity was, by no means, equal to his ambition.

Warwick, more artful and cunning, concealed more exorbitant views under more plauſible appearances; and having attached to his intereſt the earl of Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a ſtrong party, who were reſolved to deliver themſelves from that ſtate of ſlavery and ſubjection, to which the protector had reduced them.

The preſent diſpoſition of the nation was extremely favourable to the deſigns of the diſaffected counſellors. The nobility and gentry were highly chagrined at the preference, which Somerſet ſeemed to have given to the people; and as they imputed all the inſults which they had lately received to his dilatory meaſures, and the countenance he had ſhewed to the multitude, ſo they dreaded a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the benefit of the people; and he readily embraced every

every other meaſure by which he could promote their ſafety and welfare.

But though Somerſet courted, and even deſerved, the affections of the people, the intereſt which he had gained among them, was far from being anſwerable to his expectation. The Catholic party, who had ſtill ſome influence with the multitude, were his inveterate enemies, and greedily laid hold of every opportunity to condemn his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother had expoſed him to much blame: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was repreſented as a deſign to inſlave the nation: the great eſtate which he had ſuddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and the crown, ſubjected him to the imputation of avarice and injuſtice; and the palace, which he was building in the Strand, and which ſtill bears his name, contributed, as well by its grandeur, as by the manner in which it was raiſed, to draw upon him the hatred and indignation of the public.

The pariſh church of St. Mary, with the houſes of the biſhops of Worceſter, Litchfield, and Llandaff, were pulled down, to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure; not ſatisfied with that ſacrilege, he even propoſed to demoliſh St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter,

minſter, and to apply the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe in a tumultuous manner, and, after a ſharp ſcuffle, repulſed the protector's tradeſmen.

He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's church-yard, with a cloiſter, and charnel-houſe belonging to it; and theſe edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jeruſalem, were employed in building his palace. But what inflamed the reſentment of the people to the higheſt degree, was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead, were defaced; and the bones carried off by cart-loads, and buried in unhallowed ground.

Theſe imprudent and impolitick actions were extremely agreeable to Somerſet's enemies, who reſolved to make uſe of them as a plauſible pretext for effecting his ruin. The lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counſellors, aſſembled at the biſhop of Ely's houſe in Holbourn; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, on whom they laid the whole blame of every public grievance and misfortune.

They circulated letters among the chief nobility and gentry in England, acquainting them with the meaſures they intended

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to purſue, and demanding their aſſiſtance; they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and commanded them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They gave the ſame injuctions to the lieutenant of the Tower, who readily offered to comply with their requeſt.

Next day they were joined by Rich, the lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juſtice Montague; and every thing ſeemed to portend the ruin of the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to negociate with the council, was detained and obliged to aſſiſt in their deliberations; and the common-council of the city being conſulted, unanimouſly declared their approbation of the new meaſures, and their firm reſolution to ſupport them.

The protector was no ſooner informed of the revolt of the counſellors, than he conveyed the king from Hampton-court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and arming his friends and ſervants, reſolved to ſet his enemies at defiance.

But

*RUSSEL* first Earl of *BEDFORD*

*Engravd for Rider's History of England*

But finding that no man of conſequence, except Cranmer and Paget, eſpouſed his cauſe; that the people did not riſe at his ſummons; that the city and Tower had declared for his enemies; and that even his beſt friends and confidents had abandoned him; he laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance, and began to ſollicit the council for pardon and forgiveneſs.

This daſtardly and puſillanimous conduct, contributed ſtill farther to haſten his ruin: lord Ruſſel, Sir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three other counſellors, went over to Warwick's party, whom every body now conſidered as maſters.

The council iſſued a proclamation, acquainting the public with their actions and intentions: they ſent letters to the princeſſes Elizabeth and Mary, to the ſame purpoſe: they preſented an addreſs to the king, in which, after the warmeſt proteſtations of duty and obedience, they told him that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the realm during his minority; that they had elected the duke of Somerſet protector, with this expreſs proviſo, that he ſhould conduct himſelf entirely by their advice and direction; that he had ſhamefully violated this condition; had engroſſed into his own hands the ſole

adminiſtration of public affairs; had totally neglected, and even deſpiſed their advice; and had carried his preſumption to ſuch an intolerable pitch, as to levy forces againſt them, and plant thoſe forces about his majeſty's perſon: they therefore deſired, that they might be admitted to his royal preſence, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive them into his favour and confidence, and that Somerſet's ſervants might be diſcarded from the court.

Their petition was readily granted: Somerſet ſtipulated only for gentle treatment, with the hopes of which he was at preſent indulged. Nevertheleſs, he was committed to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and adherents, among whom was Cecil, who afterwards made ſuch a conſiderable figure. An impeachment was immediately preferred againſt him; the chief article of which, at leaſt the beſt founded, was his uſurpation of the government, and his aſſuming to himſelf the whole adminiſtration of public affairs.

The Catholics were overjoyed at this revolution; and, as they believed that all the late innovations were entirely owing to Somerſet's councils, they imagined that his fall would pave the way for the reſtoration of the ancient faith. But Warwick, who was now at the head of the council, had no reli-

religion but ambition; and finding that the young king had imbibed a ſtrong attachment to the Proteſtant doctrine, he was reſolved to humour his inclinations, and not to run the riſk of loſing the power he had to lately acquired, by any violent meaſures.

With this view he publickly declared his intention to promote the Reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on Southampton, who was the chief ſupport of the Romaniſts, and whom he regarded as a dangerous rival, that the high-ſpirited nobleman withdrew from court, and ſoon after died of chagrin and diſappointment.

Somerſet had been induced, by a promiſe of gentle treatment, to acknowledge on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge againſt him; and he pleaded in excuſe, that theſe miſdemeanours were owing to his own raſhneſs, folly, and indiſcretion; not to any malignity of intention.

He even put his hand to this confeſſion; and the paper was laid before the parliament, which was now aſſembled, and which, after having ſent a committee to examine him, and hear him own it to be authentic, paſſed a vote, depriving him of all his eſtates, and amercing him in two thouſand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was

appointed treaſurer in his place, and Warwick earl marſhal.

His ſubmiſſive behaviour ſaved him from any further penalty, and even procured him a mitigation of his preſent puniſhment. His fine was remitted by the king; he was reſtored to his liberty; and Warwick, imagining that he was ſufficiently humbled, and that his popularity was greatly diminiſhed by his late diſgrace, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to contract an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerſet.

Notwithſtanding the violent clamour which Warwick and his party had raiſed againſt the adminiſtration of Somerſet, they found themſelves obliged, now that they were inveſted with the ſupreme authority, to purſue the ſame, or rather worſe meaſures, than that nobleman had adopted.*

After having in vain endeavoured to ſecure the friendſhip of the emperor, they ſaw there was an abſolute neceſſity for liſtening to the propoſals which the French king made them by means of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant.

Lord

* A. D. 1550.

Lord Ruſſel, now created earl of Bedford, Sir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to conclude a peace. Henry refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceſſors had owned to be due to the crown of England; he ſaid he would never conſent to make himſelf tributary to any prince on earth: he offered, however, to give four hundred thouſand crowns for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; one half to be paid immediately, and the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were delivered for the performance of this laſt article.

Scotland was included in the treaty: the Engliſh agreed to reſtore Lauder and Dunglaſs, and to diſmantle the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth. Immediately after the ratification of the peace, a project was formed for uniting the kingdoms of France and England in a cloſer and more ſtrict alliance; and Henry readily aſſented to a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſt and inclination.

An agreement was made for concluding a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were ſoon after adjuſted: but this ſcheme was never carried into execution.

The design of marrying the young king to a daughter of Henry, who was a violent persecutor of the Protestants, was extremely disagreeable to that party in England; but, in every other respect, the council was very steady in promoting the Reformation, and in executing the laws against the Catholics.

Many of the prelates were still attached to that communion; and though they made some concessions, in order to preserve their bishoprics, they interrupted, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and secretly encouraged those who were negligent or refractory.

It was therefore resolved to deprive them of their sees; and the execution of this project was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which they expresly acknowledged, that they enjoyed their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure.

It was thought proper to begin with some of the most distinguished among them, in order to strike terror into the rest. Bonner, bishop of London, who had lately been committed to prison for refusing to embrace the new liturgy, was now brought before the council, and acquainted with the subjects of complaint that were laid to his charge. He was commanded to preach a sermon

ſermon in St. Paul's church, maintaining that the authority of a minor king, was equal to that of a king come to the age of maturity.

In his ſermon, which was delivered before a very numerous audience, he did not ſo much as mention the ſubject recommended to him; but enlarged, at great length, on the real preſence in the ſacrament, and inveighed, with great virulence, againſt all thoſe who did not believe tranſubſtantiation.

William Latimer and John Hooper informing againſt him, a commiſſion was given to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ridley biſhop of Rocheſter, with the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and the dean of St. Paul's, to try and puniſh him in a ſummary manner.

His behaviour, when he came into the court, was equally ridiculous and intolerable: he pretended that he did not ſee his judges, until they were pointed out to him by one of the bye-ſtanders. When the witneſſes were examined, he ſaid that one talked like a gooſe, and another like a woodcock: he treated the court with the utmoſt contempt and diſdain, and laughed at the people, whom he honoured with the appellation of fools and blockheads: he ſaid that doctor Hooper had miſtaken and miſ-

misrepresented his meaning, like a true ass as he was: he told secretary Smith, that he was a liar; and being reproved by Cranmer, who said he ought to be sent to prison for his arrogance and presumption, he answered, that he cared not whither they sent him, provided they did not send him to the devil; but thither he had no inclination to go. He said he had a few goods, a poor carcase, and a soul; the former were in their power, the last was in his own.

The court was several times adjourned; at length, finding that his defence would not be admitted, he appealed to the king, and was sent to the Marshalsea, after having abused his judges in the most low and scurrilous terms. He was again brought before them, and solemnly deprived of his bishopric, because he had refused to own and inculcate the king's power in his minority, agreeable to the injunctions he had received from the council.*

About the same time Gardiner of Winchester, Day of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were dispossessed of their sees; because, though they had complied with the new doctrine in some particulars, they were yet unwilling to embrace

* A. D. 1551.

brace it in its full extent; and were known to have a ſtrong attachment to the old ſuperſtition, and to be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of attempting to reſtore it. By theſe ſevere, but neceſſary, proceedings, the whole nation was ſoon brought to a unity of worſhip.

The princeſs Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and to reject the new liturgy: ſeveral attempts were made to perſuade her to embrace the principles of the Reformation; but ſhe lent a deaf ear to all theſe remonſtrances, and even declared herſelf willing to ſuffer death, rather than relinquiſh her religion. This obſtinacy expoſed her to many mortifications from the council, and even from the king himſelf, who had conceived an inveterate averſion to the errors of Popery.

Mary was ſo apprehenſive of the farther effects of her brother's diſpleaſure, that ſhe actually reſolved to quit the kingdom, and had even concerted a ſcheme for that purpoſe, with the governante of the Low-Countries; but her deſign was diſcovered, and meaſures were taken to prevent its execution.

The attention of the council was not ſo much engroſſed by matters of a religious nature, as to make them neglect the civil concern of the nation. The trade of England

land had been anciently carried on almoſt entirely by foreigners, eſpecially the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage theſe merchants to ſettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had been indulged with a patent, were gratified with ſome important privileges, and were freed from ſeveral heavy duties paid by aliens.

So little were the Engliſh acquainted with commerce, that this company, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Merchants of the Steel-yard, engroſſed almoſt the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navy of England was of courſe in a very weak and languiſhing condition.

It was therefore reſolved by the council to revoke the privileges of this corporation, the members of which were at preſent on nearly the ſame footing with Engliſhmen in the duties which they paid; and as ſuch patents were, in thoſe times, granted by the abſolute power of the king, the public were the leſs ſurprized to ſee them annulled by the ſame authority. Great intereſt was uſed by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanſe-towns, to prevent this innovation; but the council perſiſted

in

in their reſolution, and the good effects of it were ſoon perceived by the nation.

The Engliſh, by their very ſituation as natives, could purchaſe wool, cloth, and other commodities, with greater eaſe and at a lower rate than foreigners; though theſe advantages had not been ſufficient to awaken their induſtry, or excite them to rival this opulent company: but when the privileges of this corporation were aboliſhed, and the ſame duties were impoſed on all foreigners without diſtinction, the Engliſh were encouraged to engage in commerce, and a ſpirit of induſtry and application began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation.

About the ſame time, a treaty was concluded with Guſtavus Ericſon, king of Sweden, by which it was agreed, that if he ſent bullion to England, he might carry away Engliſh commodities free of duty; that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince; that if he ſent ſteel or copper, he ſhould pay the ſame duties for Engliſh commodities as were paid by the natives themſelves; and that if he ſent other kinds of merchandize, he ſhould have free intercourſe, upon paying duty as a ſtranger.

This treaty was productive of very beneficial effects: the bullion imported from

from Sweden ſet the mint to work: good ſpecie was coined, and much of the baſe metal formerly iſſued, was recalled; a circumſtance which contributed greatly to the promotion of commerce.

But all theſe ſchemes for the encouragement of induſtry were likely to be interrupted, if not entirely defeated, by the fear of civil commotions, ariſing from the unbounded ambition of Warwick.

That nobleman, not ſatisfied with the ſtation which he had already attained, aſpired ſtill to a higher rank, and had engaged in his intereſt a number of partizans who were ready to ſupport him in all his enterprizes. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of his having been concerned in the Yorkſhire rebellion during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate confiſcated to the crown.

Warwick now obtained a grant of all thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and he was honoured with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet, lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter; and Sir William Herbert

bert was promoted to the earldom of Pembroke.

But the ambitious mind of Northumberland conſidered all increaſe of titles and poſſeſſions, either to himſelf or his adherents, only as ſteps to further acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though deprived of his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his late puſillanimous conduct, ſtill poſſeſſed a conſiderable degree of popularity, he was reſolved to ruin a man, whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to the accompliſhment of his projects.

The alliance which had been concluded between their families, had not been productive of any cordial union, and only afforded Northumberland the means of effecting, with more eaſe, the deſtruction of his rival. He ſecretly debauched the friends and ſervants of that unfortunate nobleman: he ſometimes frightened him by the appearance of danger: ſometimes provoked him by bad treatment.

The unwary Somerſet often let fall ſome menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland: at other times he formed raſh deſigns, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidents informed his enemy of every paſſionate word which he uttered: they diſcovered the projects which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted: and

Northumberland, finding that his ſtratagem had now ſucceeded, began to attack him in a more open and violent manner.

In one night, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer, were apprehended and committed to priſon. Next day, the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others, were taken into cuſtody.

Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a ſpy upon Somerſet, charged him with a deſign to excite a rebellion in the North, to attack the Gens d'Armes on a muſter-day, to take poſſeſſion of the Tower, and to raiſe an inſurrection in London; but the accuſation which ſeems to have been the beſt founded was, that Somerſet had formed a project to murder Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at an entertainment which was to be given them by Paget. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had been propoſed; though no regular plot had been concerted, nor any meaſures taken for its execution; and Hammond acknowledged that

that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Somerſet was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, who was appointed high-ſteward on the occaſion. The jury was compoſed of twenty-ſeven peers, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency, as well as juſtice, ſhould have reſtrained from ſitting as judges on the trial of a man, againſt whom they entertained an irreconcilable hatred.

Somerſet was accuſed of high-treaſon on account of the intended rebellion, and of felony in forming a deſign to murder privy-counſellors The proof ſeems to have been very imperfect with regard to the firſt part of the charge; and the duke defended himſelf in ſuch a full and ſatisfactory manner, that the peers unanimouſly declared him innocent: the intention alone of deſtroying the privy-counſellors was ſupported by any tolerable evidence; and the jury found him guilty of felony.

The priſoner himſelf owned, that he had once mentioned the deſign of aſſaſſinating Northumberland, and the other lords; but had not concerted any regular ſcheme on that head; and when his ſentence was pronounced, he begged pardon

of thoſe peers for the enmity and hatred he had hitherto bore them.

The people, who ſincerely loved the duke of Somerſet, hearing the firſt part of his ſentence, by which he was acquitted of treaſon, expreſſed their joy by ſhouts and acclamations; but their ſatisfaction was ſoon converted into ſorrow, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.

The partizans of Northumberland had been at great pains to prejudice the young king againſt his uncle; and leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continual ſeries of pleaſures and amuſements.

At laſt the priſoner, after two months confinement, was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt great crowds of ſpectators, who loved him with ſuch a ſincere affection, that they flattered themſelves, to the laſt moment, with the fond hopes of his pardon.* Many of them ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a ſacred relick; and one woman in particular, when Northumberland was afterwards condemned to the ſame puniſhment, reproached him with

* A. D. 1552.

with his cruelty, and displayed to his affrighted eyes this symbol of his guilt and wickedness.

Somerset indeed, though many parts of his conduct were far from being defensible, seems, in the main, to have deserved a better fate; and the faults, of which he was guilty, ought rather to be imputed to the weakness of his head, than the badness of his heart.

Had he lived in a private station, he would probably have passed through the world with more honour, and certainly with greater safety; but his want of discernment and resolution rendered him incapable of extricating himself out of those difficulties, in which his elevated rank and dangerous office involved him.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old soldier, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded as the duke's confederates. Vane encountered death with equal intrepidity and disdain, observing, that the time had been when he was held in some estimation; but now the cowardly and courageous were treated in the same ignominious manner; and all of them declared, in their last moments, that they had never done any thing to the prejudice of their king or country.

Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on ſome frivolous pretence, tried in the Star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of ſix thouſand pounds, with the loſs of his office. To render his puniſhment the more ſevere, he was degraded from the order of the Garter; being deemed, on account of the meanneſs of his birth, unworthy to enjoy that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor of the kingdom, was likewiſe deprived of his office, becauſe he had made ſome ſecret attempt to ſerve the intereſt of Somerſet.

The day after the execution of Somerſet, the king convoked a parliament, in which ſeveral laws were enacted as well of a civil as of a religious nature. The new Liturgy was authorized, and ordered to be uſed in all the churches; and ſevere penalties were denounced againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip.

A law was made againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money. But as this act was found extremely prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards annulled in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at that time fourteen per cent.

A bill was brought by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, reviving thoſe rigorous

ſtatutes

ſtatutes of treaſon, which had been repealed in the commencement of this reign; and though the peers, by their high ſtation, were moſt likely to feel the effects of theſe laws, they had yet ſo little regard to the public welfare, or even to their own ſafety, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice.

But it was thrown out of the houſe of commons, where a new bill was framed, that paſſed into a law, by which it was decreed, that whoever ſhould call the king or any of his heirs mentioned in the ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of the laſt reign heretical, ſchiſmatical, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould incur the penalties of præmunire; and for the third, ſhould be attainted of high treaſon. But if any perſon ſhould publiſh ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or engraving, he was, for the firſt offence, to be puniſhed as a traitor.

Hence it appears, that, though the commons were extremely deſirous of preſerving their liberty, they were not very happy in the means they employed to attain this end: for, as the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different

ent religions; and religions which accuſed each other of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, and prophaneneſs, it was almoſt impoſſible for the people, if they talked of theſe ſubjects at all, not to be guilty of the crime which was ſo ſeverely puniſhed by this ſtatute.

The commons annexed to this bill a clauſe, which was of infinitely greater conſequence than the bill itſelf, viz. that no perſon ſhould be condemned for any kind of treaſon, unleſs the crime was proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, who were confronted with the priſoner.

A bill was brought into the houſe of peers for making a better proviſion for the poor; but the commons thinking it improper that a money-bill ſhould begin in the upper-houſe, drew up a new bill to the ſame purpoſe.

By this bill, a power was granted to the church-wardens to make charitable contributions for the poor, and if any refuſed to contribute, or diſſuaded others from that charity, the biſhops were empowered to proceed againſt them. Such a large diſcretionary power, committed to the prelates ſeems as proper an object of jealouſy as the authority which had formerly been exerciſed by the peers.

There

There was another inſtance in which the parliament diſcovered the great confidence they repoſed in the biſhops. They gave them a power of proceeding againſt all ſuch as neglected the Sundays and holidays.

But, notwithſtanding theſe important conceſſions to the church, the humour of the times was, by no means, favourable to the clerical order. The laity were rather inclined to deprive the eccleſiaſtics of all their power, and even to ſtrip them of all their property.

Many clergymen were obliged to procure a livelihood by turning taylors or carpenters, and even by keeping alehouſes. The biſhops themſelves were generally reduced to poverty, and poſſeſſed both their revenues and ſpiritual office by a very ſlight and precarious tenure.

Tonſtall, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, as well on account of his learning and abilities, as of the unblemiſhed integrity of his life and manners. Though he had oppoſed, by his vote and influence, all the late innovations in religion; yet they were no ſooner paſſed into laws, than he had always ſubmitted, and conformed himſelf to every ſyſtem of doctrine, which was eſtabliſhed by authority.

As he was univerſally allowed to be a man of probity and virtue, people were inclined to aſcribe his conduct in this particular, not to any ſelfiſh or intereſted views, but rather to a ſenſe of duty, which probably led him to think, that all private opinions ought to be ſacrificed to the preſervation of public peace and tranquillity.

The ſanctity of his life and character had ſecured him from any ſevere treatment during the mild and gentle adminiſtration of Somerſet; but now that Northumberland had engroſſed the government, he was committed to priſon; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of erecting to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was determined to pave the way for the accompliſhment of his ſcheme, by depriving Tonſtall of his biſhopric.

Accordingly, a bill, under pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was brought into the houſe of peers againſt that prelate; and it paſſed without any oppoſition, except from lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic, and Cranmer, who had always entertained a ſincere regard for the biſhop of Durham.

But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they inſiſted that witneſſes ſhould

ſhould be examined, that Tonſtall ſhould be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence, and have an opportunity of confronting his accuſers; and not being able to obtain theſe demands, they rejected the bill with contempt and indignation.

As ſuch a ſpirit of equity and courage was extremely uncommon in the parliament during that age, Northumberland and his adherents were inclined to aſcribe it, not to any regard for liberty and juſtice, but to the influence of Somerſet's friends in a houſe of commons, which, being choſen during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, had always been ſtrongly attached to his intereſt.

They were further confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his confederates was likewiſe thrown out by the commons, though it had paſſed the upper houſe.

A reſolution was therefore taken to diſſolve this parliament, and to ſummon a new one: and Northumberland exerted himſelf with ſo much induſtry and ſucceſs, and employed ſo many unfair and unjuſtifiable methods in influencing the election of members, that when the parliament aſſembled,* he found the commons as obſequious

* A. D. 1553.

quious to his will, and as ready to concur in all his measures, as he could possibly have wished.

Tonstall having, in the interval, been deprived of his bishopric after a very illegal manner, by the sentence of the lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was now divided, by act of parliament, into two bishoprics, to each of which a certain portion of the revenue was allotted.

The regalities of the see, comprehending the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were bestowed by the king on Northumberland; and it was generally supposed, that that nobleman had also intended to fill his coffers with the plunder of the revenue, as was then the common practice of the courtiers, whenever a bishopric became vacant.

But this grant, however large and considerable, was only a small part of that mighty fortune which Northumberland proposed to procure for his family. Nothing less could satisfy his ambitious and aspiring mind, than the acquisition of the crown, if not to himself, at least to one of his children; and as the young king had been long in a languishing condition, and even seemed to be fast approaching to his grave, he resolved to execute his project without delay.

He

He took occaſion to repreſent to Edward, whoſe youth, and a bad ſtate of health, made eaſily ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and that though Henry, by his will, had given them a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never endure to ſee the throne poſſeſſed by a baſtard: that they were only his ſiſters by the half-blood; and even, if they were legitimate, could not lay claim to the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: that the queen of Scots was excluded by the king's will; and being a foreigner, was deprived of all right of inheriting by the law; not to mention, that, being affianced to the dauphin, ſhe would, by her ſucceſſion, render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France: that ſhould either his ſiſter Mary, or the queen of Scots ſucceed, the Proteſtant religion would be entirely aboliſhed, the laws enacted in favour of the Reformation would be all repealed, and the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the church of Rome, would be once more eſtabliſhed by public authority: that, happily for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion, which juſtice demanded, was likewiſe moſt conducive to the intereſt of the public; nor was there the leaſt room for doubt, or he-

ſitation: that theſe three princeſſes being rendered incapable of ſucceeding, the right of courſe devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter to the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady not more diſtinguiſhed by the accompliſhments of her perſon, than by the endowments of her mind, improved by the beſt and moſt virtuous education, a great proficient in all kinds of literature, ſtrongly attached to the Proteſtant religion, and every way worthy of a throne: and that even if her title by blood ſhould be doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, the king was inveſted with the ſame power which his father had enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent.

Theſe arguments made a deep impreſſion on the tender mind of Edward, who, as he was zealouſly attached to the Proteſtant religion, apprehended the moſt fatal conſequences to all its profeſſors, ſhould ſo bigotted a Catholic as his ſiſter Mary aſcend the throne.

The ſame objection, indeed, could not be raiſed againſt the lady Elizabeth, of whom the young king was extremely fond; but means were found to make him believe, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter on account

account of illegitimacy, without involving the other in the ſame fate.

Northumberland having thus far ſucceeded in his ambitious project, began to concert ſome other meaſures which were abſolutely neceſſary to the accompliſhment of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk, by a ſecond ſpouſe, having died this ſeaſon of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was now extinct; and Northumberland perſuaded the king to confer it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this, and of ſeveral other favours which he procured him, he prevailed on the new duke of Suffolk, and his dutcheſs, to marry their daughter, the lady Jane, to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley.

To ſtrengthen himſelf by other alliances, he effected a match between the lady Catharine Gray, ſecond daughter to Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke. At the ſame time, he beſtowed his own daughter upon lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon.

Theſe marriages were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; and the people, who hated the perſon, and ſuſpected the deſigns of Northumberland, could not help expreſſing their ſurprize and indignation at ſeeing theſe public demonſtra-

tions of joy, while the young king's health was in such a languishing condition.

Edward had been seized in the course of the preceding year, first with the measles, and then with the small-pox; but having got the better of both these distempers, the people flattered themselves with the agreeable hopes, that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a tour through several parts of the kingdom.

It was supposed, that, in this progress, he had over-heated himself with too much exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and could neither be removed by regimen nor medicines: several alarming symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the season of the year advanced, his youth and temperance would triumph over the malady, the people were extremely concerned to observe that his bloom and vigour insensibly decayed.

It was commonly remarked, that Edward had gradually declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been appointed his gentleman of the bed-chamber; and as the people entertained a sincere affection for the young prince, and bore a most inveterate hatred to all the Dudleys, they

they were ſtrongly inclined to aſcribe this circumſtance to the worſt of cauſes.

The languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health, made Northnmberland the more deſirous of accompliſhing his project. He ſuffered none but his own confidents to approach his majeſty: he himſelf waited upon him with the greateſt aſſiduity: he affected the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare; and by theſe hypocritical expreſſions of duty, he perſuaded him to give his final conſent to the new ſettlement.

Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common-pleas, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſollicitor-general, were ordered to attend the council; where, after they had been made acquainted with the minutes of the projected deed, the king commanded them to draw them up in the form of letters patent.

They were greatly ſtartled at this injunction, which they ſcrupled to obey; and begged they might be indulged with time to conſider the matter. The more they reflected on the ſubject, the more dangerous did the meaſure appear.

The ſettlement of the crown, by Henry the eighth, had been ratified and confirmed by the authority of parliament; and, by an

act paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it had been declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders and abettors, to endeavour to invade the right of another, or to alter the order of ſucceſſion.

The judges alledged theſe reaſons as an excuſe for their non-compliance. They affirmed, that ſuch a patent as was now propoſed, would be entirely null and void; that it would ſubject, not only the judges who drew it, but even the counſellors who ſigned it, to the penalties of high treaſon; and that the only means, as well of eſtabliſhing the new ſettlement, as of ſecuring its partizans from danger, was to aſſemble a parliament, and procure the conſent and ſanction of that auguſt body.

The king replied, that he deſigned afterwards to purſue that method; and would convoke a parliament, in which he intended to have his ſettlement confirmed; but, in the mean time, he commanded the judges, on their duty and allegiance, to draw the patent in the form preſcribed.

The council repreſented to the judges, that their refuſal would ſubject them all to the penalties of treaſon. Northumberland was ſo incenſed at their obſtinacy, that he called Montague a traitor and a liar; and ſaid he would fight in his ſhirt with any man who ſhould preſume to diſpute the right of lady Jane

Jane Gray. The judges were reduced to a terrible dilemma, between the puniſhments threatened by the law, and the danger ariſing from the violence of the ruling party.

The arguments on both ſides were diſcuſſed in ſeveral meetings, between the council and the judges; and the difficulties which occurred, were ſo many and ſo great, that they were thought to be altogether inſurmountable.

At length Montague ſuggeſted an expedient, which effectually enſured the ſafety of his brethren, and was readily embraced by the counſellors. He propoſed, that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be iſſued by the king and council, commanding the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that, immediately after, they ſhould be indulged with a pardon for any offence which they might have committed in executing this order.

When the patent was drawn, and carried to the biſhop of Ely, the chancellor, to receive the ſanction of the great ſeal, that prelate inſiſted that it ſhould be ſubſcribed by all the judges. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; nor did he at laſt comply, until he was frightened by the violent threats of Northumberland: but all the menaces of that overbearing nobleman, were unable to ſhake the

the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous Proteſtant, reſolved, on this occaſion, to follow the dictates of juſtice, rather than the prejudices of his party.

The chancellor next demanded, for his greater ſecurity, that the patent ſhould be ſigned by all the privy-counſellors; and theſe great men were ſo much over-awed by the authority, or influenced by the intrigues of Northumberland, that they all complied with this requeſt.

Cranmer alone made ſome objections; but he was at laſt overcome by the earneſt importunities of the king. Cecil, who was at that time ſecretary of ſtate, alledged afterwards, in his own defence, that he only ſigned as a witneſs to the king's ſubſcription.

Thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were excluded from the ſucceſſion; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the dutcheſs of Suffolk, who, in this important inſtance, was content to be poſtponed to her daughters.

It was remarked, that, after this ſettlement was made, Edward's health declined viſibly every day; and little hopes were entertained of his recovery. To render the matter ſtill worſe, his phyſicians were diſcharged

charged by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was committed to the care of an ignorant woman, who engaged, in a ſhort time, to reſtore him to his former health and vigour.

This promiſe, however, ſhe performed with much the ſame fidelity as our modern quacks and emperics. The uſe of her medicines contributed only to inflame all the bad ſymptoms: he was ſeized with a violent aſthma; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his ſkin contracted a livid colour; and many other prognoſtics appeared of his approaching end. He died at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

This young prince was endued with all the qualifications and accompliſhments which could recommend him to the love and eſteem of his ſubjects; beauty of perſon, probity of mind, ſweetneſs of temper, tenderneſs of heart, compaſſion to the afflicted, piety towards God, and humanity to his fellow-creatures: and he was bleſſed with a quick apprehenſion and a ſolid judgment, both of which were cultivated and improved by an excellent education, under the beſt and moſt approved maſters.

After all, a youth of his tender years can hardly be ſaid to have had any public character. Every part of his political conduct

duct was directed by those who happened to be at the head of the council; but had he been indulged with a longer life, he would soon have asserted his natural right of seeing with his own eyes, and judging according to his own conviction; he would probably have filled the throne with glory to himself, and advantage to his people.

## MARY. A. D. 1553.

MARY's title to the crown, after the death of her brother, could not reasonably be called in question; and the pretensions advanced by the adherents of the lady Jane, were considered as equally new and ridiculous.

Though all the Protestants, and even many of the Catholics, were of opinion, that the marriage of Henry the eighth, with Catharine of Arragon, was altogether unlawful and invalid; yet as it had been contracted by the parties without any bad intention, had been approved by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemed agreeable to those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few people imagined, that their issue ought, on that account, to be deemed illegitimate.

Henry,

# MARY I.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

Henry, indeed, by his uſual violence and caprice, had compelled the parliament to iſſue a declaration to that purpoſe; but as he had been afterwards pleaſed to reſtore his daughter to the right of ſucceſſion, her title was now rendered as legal and parliamentary, as it was ever held juſt and natural.

The nation had been long habituated to theſe ſentiments: during the whole reign of Edward, the princeſs was regarded as his lawful ſucceſſor: and, though the Proteſtants dreaded the effects of her bigotry and ſuperſtition, the violent animoſity entertained againſt the Dudleys, who, it was evident, would, under the name of Jane, uſurp the reins of government, was more than ſufficient, even with that party, to counterballance the regard for religion.

This laſt attempt, to alter the order of ſucceſſion, had fully diſcovered the ambitious and intereſted views of Northumberland; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, cruelty, and injuſtice, by which that ſcheme had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princeſſes, had been ſacrificed to it; they were prompted, by indignation, to exert their utmoſt efforts, in order to defeat ſuch criminal enterprizes.

The

The general esteem also, in which the memory of Henry the eighth was held, excited the nation to support the rights of his posterity; and the calamities of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by an exclusion of the lawful heir, to expose themselves to the danger of the like bloodshed and confusion.

Northumberland, conscious of his own unpopularity, was abundantly sensible of the opposition he had reason to expect. He had therefore been at great pains to conceal the new settlement made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had persuaded the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in their brother's name, desiring their attendance, under pretext that his bad state of health required the assistance of their council, and the consolation of their company.

Edward died before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had actually advanced as far as Hoddesdon, within seventeen miles of London.

There she received a private message from the earl of Arundel, informing her of

of her brother's death, and the designs which were formed againſt her: ſhe inſtantly retired, with the utmoſt precipitation, and arrived, by quick journeys, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where ſhe intended to embark and retire to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to maintain her right of ſucceſſion.

She ſent circular letters to the nobility, and moſt conſiderable gentry, in every county of England, requiring them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon: and ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council, by which ſhe ſignified to them, that ſhe was fully apprized of her brother's death, promiſed to indulge them with a free pardon for all their paſt offences, and commanded them, on their duty and allegiance, to give immediate orders for proclaiming her title in London.

Northumberland, finding he could no longer diſſemble, reſolved to throw off the maſk, and act in a more open and undiſguiſed manner. He repaired to Sion-houſe, attended by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who then reſided there, with all the marks of reſpect and ſubmiſſion which are uſually paid to the ſovereign.

Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal sorrow and surprize, that she now received intelligence of the steps which had been taken in her favour.

She was a lady of the most accomplished person, the most amiable disposition, and the most distinguished parts; and, being nearly of an age with the late king, she had been educated with him, and seemed even to discover a greater capacity for every kind of manly and polite literature.

Beside the knowledge of the modern tongues, she was thoroughly versed in the Greek and Roman languages: she had spent the best part of her time in an application to study and learning; and expressed the utmost indifference for those pleasures and amusements, which are so usually pursued, with so much ardour, by persons of her sex and station.

Roger Ascham, preceptor to the lady Elizabeth, having once paid her a visit, found her engaged in reading the Phædon of Plato, while the rest of the family were hunting in the park; and upon his expressing his surprize at the singularity of her choice, she told him, that she received more pleasure from the works of that author, than the others could derive from all their sport and pastime.

Her

Her heart, full of this paſſion for learning and the fine arts, and of love towards her huſband, who was worthy of all her affection, had never entertained an aſpiring or ambitious hope; and the news of her elevation to the throne affected her with the utmoſt grief and concern.

She even refuſed to accept the crown; alledged the preferable right of the two princeſſes; inſiſted on the fatal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a hazardous and criminal enterprize; and begged ſhe might be allowed to continue in that private ſtation in which ſhe was born. Overcome at laſt by the importunities, rather than reaſons, of her father and father-in-law, and eſpecially of her huſband, ſhe was perſuaded to abandon her own ſentiments, and to regulate herſelf by their advice and direction.

The Engliſh kings were, at that time, wont to paſs the firſt days, after their acceſſion, in the Tower of London; and thither Northumberland immediately conducted the new ſovereign. All the counſellors were obliged to accompany her to that fortreſs; and thus became, in ſome meaſure, priſoners in the hands of Northumberland, whoſe will they were forced to obey.

Orders were given by the council, to proclaim Jane in all the different parts of the kingdom; but theſe orders were executed in London only, and in ſome of the adjacent towns.

No applauſe enſued; the people heard the proclamation with ſilence and ſurprize; ſome even ſignified their ſcorn and contempt: and one Pot, a vintner's boy, having ventured to expreſs himſelf too freely on the ſubject, was ſet in the pillory, with his ears cut off, and nailed to it; an inſtance of cruelty which encreaſed ſtill farther the popular odium againſt Northumberland, and gave a very unfavourable omen of a reign, which began with an act of ſo much rigour and ſeverity.

Mean while the people of Suffolk paid their attendance on the princeſs Mary. As they were ſtrongly attached to the Proteſtant religion, they could not help, amidſt their offers of duty and allegiance, to expreſs their fears for the fate of the Reformation; but when ſhe aſſured them that ſhe never intended to alter the laws of Edward, they engaged in her cauſe with the utmoſt zeal and alacrity.

She was daily joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry, who brought her a reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suſſex, the eldeſt ſons of lord Wharton

ton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Henry Jerningham, perſons whoſe intereſts lay in the neighbourhood, repaired to her ſtandard with their tenants and retainers.

Sir Edward Haſtings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered by the council to levy troops for the ſervice of lady Jane, carried over to Mary's camp all the forces he had aſſembled, amounting to no leſs than four thouſand men. Even a fleet, which had been ſent by Northumberland to cruiſe on the coaſt of Suffolk, and prevent the eſcape of Mary, being driven by a ſtorm into Yarmouth, declared in favour of that princeſs.

Northumberland, who had hitherto been blinded by ambition, perceived at laſt the clouds gathering round, and knew not in what manner he ſhould avert the impending ſtorm. He had aſſembled an army in the neighbourhood of London; but ſuſpecting the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance, he knew, had been merely the effect of fear or policy, he was determined to remain with the lady Jane, and entruſt Suffolk with the command of the forces.

But the counſellors, who wanted to remove him, repreſented to Jane the immi-

nent danger to which her father would be expoſed, and perſuaded her that Northumberland, who had formerly acquired great glory by ſuppreſſing a rebellion in thoſe parts, was much more proper to conduct that enterprize.

The duke himſelf, conſidering the weak capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himſelf was able to encounter the preſent danger; and he at length conſented to head the troops in perſon. The counſellors waited on him at his departure with the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal and inveterate enemy.

As he paſſed through the ſtreets of London, he obſerved the coldneſs and diſaffection of the people, which ſeemed to portend a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to lord Gray who accompanied him, "come out to look at us, "but I find no one who cries, God ſpeed "you."

The duke had no ſooner advanced to St. Edmundſbury, than he found his army, which never exceeded ſix thouſand men, too weak to contend with the queen's, which amounted to double the number.

He wrote to the council for a ſtrong re-inforcement, and the counſellors reſolved to embrace this opportunity of freeing

ing themſelves from their confinement. They left the Tower, as if they intended to perform Northumberland's orders; but having aſſembled in Baynard's-Caſtle, a houſe belonging to the earl of Pembroke, they began to conſider of the proper means of delivering themſelves from his uſurped authority.

Arundel opened the conference, by inveighing againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of Northumberland, his inſatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal project which he had projected, and the guilt and wickedneſs in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only way to make reparation for their paſt offence, was to return immediately to that duty and allegiance which they owed to their lawful ſovereign.

This propoſal was ſeconded by Pembroke, who laying his hand on his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight with any man who preſumed to differ from that opinion. They then ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, who diſcovered the greateſt alacrity and chearfulneſs in executing the orders they received to proclaim the acceſſion of the princeſs Mary.

The people expreſſed their joy and ſatisfaction by loud ſhouts and acclamations. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower,

Tower, finding it in vain to make any reſiſtance, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and immediately declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after having enjoyed, or rather ſuffered, the vain pageantry of a crown for the ſpace of ten days, returned to a private life with much more pleaſure than ſhe felt when the ſceptre was forced into her hands.

Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms and ſubmit; but that nobleman having already given up all hopes of ſucceſs, was abandoned by all his followers, and had even proclaimed the queen with every exterior mark of joy and ſatisfaction.

Mary received the moſt ſenſible expreſſions of loyalty and attachment from the people of all the different counties through which ſhe paſſed, in her way to London: and ſhe was met by her ſiſter Elizabeth, at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had raiſed, in order to defend their joint title againſt the uſurper.

Next day, the duke of Northumberland was arreſted by the earl of Arundel, at whoſe feet he fell upon his knees, and begged his protection in the moſt humble and abject terms.

At

At the ſame time were apprehended and committed to the Tower, the earl of Warwick, his eldeſt ſon, Ambroſe and Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons, Sir Anthony Dudley his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates.

Soon after, the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley were taken into cuſtody. But Mary was deſirous, in the beginning of her reign, to render herſelf popular by the appearance of clemency; and as the counſellors alledged, in excuſe for their conduct, that they had acted from fear and compulſion, ſhe indulged moſt of them with a pardon.

Suffolk himſelf was reſtored to his liberty; a favour which he owed, in a great meaſure, to the contempt entertained of his abilities. But the guilt of Northumberland was of too deep a dye, his ambition was too unbounded, and his courage and capacity were too diſtinguiſhed, to ſuffer him to expect the ſame indulgence.

When brought to his trial, he only begged permiſſion to aſk two queſtions of the peers, who were appointed to ſit as his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treaſon, for obeying orders given him by the council under the great ſeal? and whether thoſe, who were at leaſt equally culpable, could

could act as his judges? Being told that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no warrant; and that perſons againſt whom there was nothing upon record, were deemed innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury, he acquieſced and pleaded guilty.

He confeſſed on the ſcaffold, that he had always been a Roman Catholic in his heart, and expreſſed great ſorrow for having plundered the effects of the church, eſpecially as he could not now make reſtitution: but whether theſe were his real ſentiments, which he had formerly concealed from intereſt and ambition, or whether he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family, we cannot, at this diſtance of time, pretend to determine.

Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates were executed with him; and this was all the blood ſpilt on account of ſo dangerous and criminal an attempt againſt the rights of the lawful ſovereign.

Sentence was pronounced againſt the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any preſent deſign of carrying it into execution. The youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had attained their ſeventeenth year, were deemed a ſufficient apology

apology for the imprudence of their conduct.

When Mary entered the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been confined during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, who, without being accuſed of any crime, had been condemned to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtall, and Bonner, who had been committed for their attempts to reſtore the Catholic religion, appeared before her, and humbly implored her clemency and protection.

They were all of them ſet at liberty, and immediately received into her favour and confidence. Though Norfolk's attainder had been confirmed by parliament, yet was it now conſidered as null and invalid; becauſe among other informalities, he had been charged with no crime, except that of wearing a coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors, without giving any offence, had always uſed in the face of the court and the whole nation.

Courtney was dignified with the title of earl of Devonſhire; and though brought up in ſuch cloſe confinement, that he was totally ignorant of the affairs of the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman; in both which

which characters he made a conſiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he retrieved his liberty.

Beſide theſe acts of liberality and juſtice, which, though only concerned indivials, were extremely agreeable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to render herſelf popular by publiſhing a general indemnity, though with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy granted to her brother in the laſt parliament.

Though the people were overjoyed at the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir, and the gracious demeanour of the ſovereign, they could not help entertaining the moſt anxious fears and apprehenſions concerning the ſtate of religion; and as the bulk of the nation was ſtrongly attached to the Proteſtant communion, they dreaded the moſt fatal conſequences from the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the new queen.

The legitimacy of Mary's birth was cloſely connected with the papal authority; and as that princeſs was educated with her mother, ſhe had conceived the moſt ardent zeal for the Catholic worſhip, and the higheſt averſion to thoſe new doctrines, from which, ſhe imagined, all the misfortunes of her family had been originally derived.

The

The reſtraints impoſed upon her by her father, though they at laſt compelled her to ſubmit to his will, contributed ſtill more to increaſe her hatred to the Reformers; and the mortification which ſhe ſuffered from the protector and the council, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to render her prejudices more ſtrong and inveterate.

Naturally of a ſour and peeviſh temper, and ſtill further chagrined by contradictions and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities which compoſe the character of a bigot; and her extreme ignorance made her equally incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others.

The nation, therefore, had great reaſon to apprehend, from the bigotted zeal of Mary, not only the perſecution, but even the entire abolition of the eſtabliſhed religion; and it was not long before they were convinced, to their ſad experience, that their ſuſpicions were but too well founded.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtall, Day, Heath, Voiſey, were reſtored to their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the ſame, by the ſentence of commiſſioners who were ordered to examine their proceſs and condemnation.

Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by act of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and re-inſtated Tonſtall in the regalities of his ſee, as well as in his revenue. Under pretence of diſcouraging controverſy and preſerving the public tranquillity, ſhe ſilenced by her prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould procure a particular licence; and it was univerſally believed that none but the Catholics would be indulged with this privilege.

Holgate archbiſhop of York, Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, Audley of London, and Hooper of Glouceſter, were committed to priſon; the Catholic biſhops and prieſts were encouraged in their zeal to reſtore the maſs, though contrary to the preſent laws.

Judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with ſo much courage and reſolution, loſt all his merit by oppoſing theſe illegal practices; and being thrown into priſon was treated with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, that he was ſeized with a frenzy, and laid violent hands on himſelf.

The inhabitants of Norfolk were browbeaten and inſulted, when they ventured to plead the promiſe which the queen, at the

the time they inliſted in her ſervice, had given them, of ſupporting the reformed religion; and one of them, in particular, was expoſed in the pillory, becauſe he had preſumed to remind her of the obligations which ſhe had then incurred.

Peter Martyr, profeſſor of Theology at Oxford, ſuffered ſo many inſults and indignities from the enemies of the Reformation, that he was obliged to take refuge in Cranmer's houſe; though that prelate was in no condition to protect himſelf; for the court had already devoted him to deſtruction.

Bonner not only endeavoured by low and coarſe ribaldry to ridicule the good biſhop, whom he called Mr. Canterbury; but in order to ruin the archbiſhop's character, ſpread a report, that he had ſubmitted to the queen, and engaged to make a public recantation of his errors.

Cranmer, in order to clear himſelf from this ſcandalous aſperſion, drew up a confeſſion of his faith, which he offered, with the queen's permiſſion, to defend in public. On account of this writing, which was publiſhed without his conſent, he was ordered to appear in the Star-chamber, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of the paper, and was, for that day, diſmiſſed.

Some of the council adviſed the queen to treat him with lenity, as he had always been remarkable for the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and as it was to him ſhe was chiefly indebted for that indulgence which ſhe had enjoyed during the reign of her father.

But gratitude and clemency were none of the ingredients of Mary's character: ſhe remembered nothing of Cranmer, but that he had pronounced her mother's divorce, and encouraged the Reformation. He was ſummoned before the council, together with old Latimer, which laſt was immediately committed to the Tower, and next day he was followed by Cranmer, on pretence that he had been concerned in ſome treaſonable practices, and publiſhed ſeditious pamphlets.

Several other preachers were committed to priſon at the ſame time: Peter Martyr, John Laſco, and all the foreign Proteſtants, who had taken ſhelter in England, were ſuffered to depart the kingdom in peace: a great number of the Engliſh, who profeſſed the reformed religion, foreſeeing a perſecution, retired into foreign countries, on pretence of being natives of France, until orders were diſpatched to all the ſea-ports, that no perſon ſhould be allowed

allowed to quit the kingdom on that pretext, without being furniſhed with a warrant ſigned by the French ambaſſador.

The next care of the miniſtry was to pack a parliament, that ſhould be wholly at their devotion; and ſuch unjuſtifiable means were employed to accompliſh this purpoſe, that, although the Proteſtants were much more numerous than the Papiſts in England, the houſe of commons was almoſt entirely filled with Roman Catholics.

In the houſe of lords, the queen had a great majority; for even the greateſt part of thoſe noblemen, who had profeſſed the reformed religion in the reign of Edward, were ſo regardleſs of their own honours, that they now conformed to the court doctrines, from the motives of intereſt and ambition.

In opening the parliament, the court diſcovered a very ſignal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houſes, a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Latin tongue, accompanied with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed by act of parliament. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was very roughly handled, and was violently puſhed out of the houſe.

The queen, however, ſtill continued to bear the title of ſupreme head of the church of England; and the courtiers pretended, that they only meant to replace religion on the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the death of Henry; but that the other abuſes of Popery, which were ſo diſagreeable to the nation, would never be revived.

The firſt bill paſſed in parliament, was of a very popular nature: it aboliſhed every kind of treaſon which was not ſpecified in the ſtatute of Edward the third, and every kind of felony which did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry the eighth.

The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and moſt of the clauſes of the riot act, paſſed in the late reign, were revived; a ſtep which defeated, in a great meaſure, the popular ſtatute enacted in the firſt ſeſſion.

Though the two houſes had gratified the queen in theſe particulars, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in other articles; and the choice of a huſband, was a point in which they were reſolved to have a greater regard to the intereſt of the public, than to the will and inclination of the ſovereign.

There were three matches propoſed to the queen, each of which, it was imagined,

employed

employed the attention of Mary, after her acceſſion to the throne.

The firſt perſon recommended to her was Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who, being an Engliſhman, and nearly allied to the royal family, could not fail to be acceptable to the nation; and, as he was poſſeſſed of every qualification that could recommend him to the fair, he had viſibly engaged the queen's affections, and hints were dropt him, that his addreſſes would, by no means, be diſagreeable.

But that nobleman was more influenced by love than ambition: he entirely neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to devote himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and beauty he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter.

No woman can bear to be ſlighted, without manifeſting her reſentment. Mary conceived the moſt implacable hatred to the earl of Devonſhire, and perſecuted the lady Elizabeth with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. She had always bore a ſecret grudge to that princeſs, on account of the ancient quarrel between their mothers; and the declaration which the parliament had made in favour of Catharine's marriage, furniſhed her with a plauſible pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate.

Mary

Mary was highly incenſed at Elizabeth, for her zealous attachment to the Proteſtant religion; and had even employed the moſt violent menaces, in order to frighten her into a change of opinion. But when ſhe found that the young princeſs had obſtructed her views, in a point which to every woman is the moſt intereſting and important, her reſentment, inflamed by pride, overleaped all the bounds of decency and decorum; and Elizabeth was viſibly expoſed to the greateſt and moſt imminent danger.

The next match propoſed to the queen was cardinal Pole, who, though he had never taken any other orders than thoſe of a deacon, was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed prelates of the age; and there were many reaſons which, it was ſuppoſed, might incline her majeſty to make choice of this perſon.

The high character of Pole, for virtue and generoſity; the great eſteem in which he was held by the Catholic church, of which he had nearly attained the ſupreme dignity, on the death of Paul the third; the queen's regard for the counteſs of Saliſbury, his mother, who had once been her governeſs; the ſevere treatment which he had often received on account of his zeal for the Romiſh communion; theſe, and

and many other conſiderations, had a powerful influence on the mind of Mary.

But the cardinal was now far advanced in years; and, as he was naturally of a ſtudious and contemplative turn, he was ſuppoſed to be altogether unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the hurry of buſineſs.

The queen, therefore, laid aſide all thoughts of that alliance; but, as ſhe had a great regard for Pole's wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill reſolved to enjoy the benefit of his advice in the management of public affairs.

She engaged in a ſecret negociation with Commendoni, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Bruſſels; ſhe ſent a meſſage to the pope, then Julius the third, acquainting him with her earneſt deſire of reuniting herſelf and her kingdom to the holy ſee: and ſhe begged that Pole might be appointed legate for the accompliſhment of that pious purpoſe.

Theſe two matches being rejected, the queen turned her eyes towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was deſcended; and her application to that quarter, met with all the ſucceſs which ſhe could poſſibly have deſired.

Charles the fifth, who a few years before was almoſt abſolute maſter of Germany, had exer-

exerciſed his authority in ſuch a tyrannical manner, that the Proteſtant princes, provoked at his cruelty, and concerned for their liberties, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, and reduced his exorbitant power within its ancient limits.

Humbled by this reverſe of fortune, he reſolved, if poſſible, to compenſate the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Germany, by contracting an alliance with the crown of England; and, accordingly, he was no ſooner informed of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary, than he formed the ſcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family.

His ſon Philip, who was a widower, had but one ſon by his former marriage; and though he was only in his twenty ſeventh year, and conſequently eleven years younger than the queen, this diſparity of age, it was preſumed, might be eaſily overlooked, and there was no reaſon to think but ſhe might ſtill have a numerous iſſue.

In theſe circumſtances, the emperor diſpatched an ambaſſador to communicate his intentions to Mary, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and deſirous of uniting herſelf more intimately with her mother's family, embraced the propoſal with the utmoſt alacrity.

The

The match was ſtrongly recommended by Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget; and Gardiner, who was now prime miniſter, and who had lately been advanced to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, declared in favour of the Spaniſh alliance; and aſſured both her and the emperor, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop all farther innovations in religion, until the marriage ſhould be fully completed.

This meaſure he inforced by a variety of arguments, which perfectly ſatisfied the emperor, who even endeavoured to moderate the zeal of Mary, by repreſenting the neceſſity of proceeding by ſlow and imperceptible degrees, in the great work of converting the nation.

Underſtanding that cardinal Pole, more ſincere in his religious principles, and leſs influenced by the maxims of policy, after having adviſed the queen to a contrary conduct, had begun his journey for England, where he was to exerciſe his legatine commiſſion; he thought proper to ſtop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards procured Mary's conſent for this detention.

Mean while, the negociation for the marriage was conducted with equal diligence and ſucceſs; and Mary's intentions, in this par-

particular, were ſoon known to the whole nation. The commons, who imagined that they had effectually ſecured the confidence of the queen, by the conceſſions which they had already made her, were equally ſurprized and enraged to hear that ſhe was determined to contract a foreign alliance; and they ſent a committee of their number, to remonſtrate, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt ſuch a dangerous and imprudent reſolution.

Mary was diſpoſed to follow the advice of her people in very few particulars, and leaſt of all in the preſent inſtance: to prevent therefore any farther addreſſes of a like nature, ſhe immediately diſſolved the parliament.

A convocation had been held at the ſame time with the parliament; and the majority of the divines were evidently of the Catholic religion. An offer was made by the Romaniſts, to diſpute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as tranſubſtantion was the article which, of all others, they deemed the cleareſt, and ſupported by the moſt irrefragable arguments, they choſe to try their ſtrength by maintaining that tenet.

The Proteſtants puſhed the diſpute, as far as the clamour, and noiſe, and continual interruption

corruption of their antagoniſts, would allow; and they reaſonably concluded they had gained the victory, when they forced the Catholics to acknowledge, that, according to their doctrine, Chriſt had, in his laſt ſupper, held himſelf in his hand, and had eat and ſwallowed himſelf.

This triumph, however, was entirely confined to their own party: the Catholics pretended, that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adverſaries were blind and irreclaimable heretics; that nothing but the utmoſt corruption and depravity of heart, could induce men to queſtion ſuch ſelf-evident principles; and that they deſerved the moſt ſevere and rigorous puniſhments, for their obſtinate and perverſe wickedneſs.

The parliament was ſooner diſſolved, than the new laws, with regard to religion, were carried into immediate execution.*

The maſs was every where reſtored: the marriage of prieſts was ſtrictly prohibited; and all thoſe who had already taken wives, amounting, as is ſuppoſed, to no leſs than three-fourths of the Engliſh Clergy, were inſtantly deprived of their livings.



* A. D. 1554.

A viſitation was appointed to enforce a ſpeedy and general compliance with theſe orders. Among other articles, the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the clergy to take the oath of ſupremacy on their receiving any benefice. It is remarkable, that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry the eighth, which were ſtill unrepealed.

Theſe violent and arbitrary proceedings could not fail to inflame the reſentment of the Proteſtants, who inveighed with great acrimony againſt the preſent government. But the Spaniſh match was a point of a ſtill more alarming nature, and filled the breaſt of every Engliſhman with the moſt terrible fears and apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation.

To remove, if poſſible, theſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions, the contract was concluded on ſuch terms as were extremely favourable to the intereſt, the ſecurity, and even the honour of England. It was ſtipulated, that, though Philip ſhould enjoy the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely lodged in the hands of the queen; that no foreigners ſhould be capable of poſſeſſing any office in the kingdom; that no change ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without

out her conſent, or any of her children, without the conſent of the nobility; that her jointure ſhould amount to ſixty thouſand pounds a-year; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould enjoy England, together with Burgundy and the Low-countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon, by his former marriage, ſhould die and his line become extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

Such was the ſubſtance of the marriage-contract ſigned by count Egmont and ſome other ambaſſadors, whom Charles ſent over to England for that purpoſe.

Though theſe articles were ſoon after publiſhed, they were not ſufficient to quiet the apprehenſions of the people.

It was confidently affirmed that the emperor, in order to make himſelf maſter of England, would verbally agree to any conditions; that the more advantageous were the terms which he granted, with the greater certainty it might be inferred, that he had no intention to perform his engagements: that ſuch a concluſion was ſufficiently warranted by the uſual fraud and ambition of that monarch; and his ſon Philip, while he inherited theſe vices from his father, joined to them tyranny, bigotry,

pride and cruelty, more dangerous and pernicious vices of his own: that England would be reduced to the low and disgraceful state of a province, and a province to a kingdom, which ruled over all its dependant dominions with the iron rod of oppression; that the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples groaned under the insupportable load of Spanish tyranny; and in all their new conquests in America they had been guilty of such instances of cruelty and barbarity as could not be parallelled in the history of mankind: that the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would, with all its racks and tortures, be certainly introduced into England, where, considering the infinite variety of sentiments with regard to religious matters, it would deluge the land with blood, and involve the whole kingdom in the most terrible calamities and misfortunes.

These complaints, being diffused through the whole body of the people, prepared the nation for a rebellion; and had they been supported by any foreign power, or headed by any great men of their own country, the authority of the queen would have been exposed to the most imminent danger.

But

But the king of France, though engaged in a war with the emperor, refuſed to give aſſiſtance to the malecontents in England, leſt he ſhould furniſh Mary with a pretext for eſpouſing the cauſe of his capital enemy: and the more prudent part of the nobility imagined, that, as the pernicious conſequences of the Spaniſh alliance were only dreaded at a diſtance, matters were not yet carried to ſuch a length, as to warrant a general inſurrection.

Some perſons, however, more factious than the reſt, believed that it would be much eaſier to prevent than to remedy evils; and they therefore reſolved to take up arms, and to oppoſe, with all their might, the queen's intended marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat engaged to arm the men of Kent; Sir Peter Carew undertook to aſſemble the inhabitants of Devonſhire; and they perſuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of reſtoring the lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raiſe the Midland counties.

Carew was prompted, either by his impetuoſity or his apprehenſions, to break the agreement, and to riſe in arms before the day appointed: but his troops were ſoon diſperſed by the earl of Bedford, and he himſelf was forced to take refuge in France.

Suffolk was no ſooner informed of the fate of this confederate, than dreading an arreſt, he quitted the town, attended by his brothers, the lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and attempted to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt chiefly lay: but he was ſo hotly purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horſe, that he was obliged to diſmiſs his followers, and being diſcovered in his retreat, he was ſeized and conducted to London.

Wiat's attempt was at firſt more ſucceſsful, and ſeemed to threaten more fatal conſequences. Having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent, againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion; the people began to flock to his ſtandard in great numbers.

The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was detached againſt him at the head of the guards and ſome other troops, re-inforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by one Bret, and he overtook the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head-quarters.

Upon Norfolk's approach, Sir George Harper pretended to deſert from the malecontents; but having previouſly ſecured the intereſt

intereſt of Bret, theſe two perſons repreſented the deſigns of the court in ſuch odious colours, that the whole body of Londoners went over to Wiat, and declared that they would not aſſiſt in enſlaving their country.

Norfolk, alarmed at this deſertion, and fearing the example might prove contagious, immediately retreated with the reſt of his troops, and took ſhelter in the city of London.

Wiat, encouraged by this re-inforcement, and truſting to the favour of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly Proteſtants, reſolved to proceed in his enterprize; and he accordingly led his troops to Southwark, where he demanded of the queen, that ſhe ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of the Tower, deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to inſure the liberty of the nation, immediately eſpouſe an Engliſhman.

Finding that the bridge was barricadoed againſt him, and that the city was overawed by the regular troops, he marched up to Kingſton, where he croſſed the river with four thouſand men; and returning to London on the north-ſide, hoped to animate his friends, who had promiſed to declare in his favour.

He

He had imprudently ſpent ſo much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical moment, which generally determines the fate of all popular commotions, was entirely loſt; and though he entered Weſtminſter without oppoſition, his followers, finding that no perſon of conſequence joined him, inſenſibly diſperſed, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkley.

About ſeventy perſons ſuffered for this rebellion: four hundred appeared before the queen with halters about their necks; and falling on their knees, implored a pardon, which they obtained, and were diſmiſſed.

Wiat was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, at his trial, he had impeached the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire, he took care, on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, ſolemnly to declare that they had no ſhare in the rebellion.

The lady Elizabeth had, for ſome time paſt, been treated by her ſiſter with great ſeverity; and ſhe had been ſubjected to many inſults and indignities, which it required a conſiderable degree of patience to bear.

She was ordered to take place at court after the counteſs of Lennox and the dutcheſs of Suffolk, as if ſhe was not the legitimate

gitimate iſſue of the blood royal: her friends were diſcouraged and neglected on every occaſion: and her many eminent virtues and endowments, while they recommended her to the eſteem and affection of the people, tended only to inflame the jealouſy and envy of Mary, who behaved to her in ſuch a harſh and cruel manner, that ſhe was obliged to retire into the country.

The queen, deſirous of effecting the ruin of her ſiſter, reſolved to embrace the opportunity of this rebellion in order to accompliſh her wicked purpoſe; and hoping to involve the young princeſs in ſome appearance of guilt, ſhe cauſed her to be conducted to London under a ſtrong guard, to be committed priſoner to the Tower, and to be ſtrictly examined by the council.

Falſe evidence might, no doubt, have been eaſily procured againſt her; but the public declaration made by Wiat, rendered ſuch a ſcheme impracticable; and the princeſs defended herſelf with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, that the queen was obliged to reſtore her to her liberty.

In order to ſend her out of the kingdom, a marriage was projected between her and the duke of Savoy; and when ſhe refuſed to agree to the match, ſhe was again confined under a ſtrong guard at Wodeſtoke.

The

The earl of Devonſhire, though equally innocent, was committed priſoner to Fotheringay-Caſtle.

But this rebellion proved ſtill more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her huſband; the duke of Suffolk's guilt was laid to her charge; and though the rebels ſeemed chiefly to found their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire,* the queen, whoſe heart was utterly

* It was commonly ſaid that the rebels intended to effect a marriage between the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire and place them on the throne. Whether or not there was any foundation for this report, we cannot pretend to determine: certain it is the notion was ſo generally entertained, that it even became a ſubject of converſation and controverſy among the boys of London, who divided themſelves into two bodies, one called the king's and Wiat's army, the other the army of the prince of Spain and Mary. Thus marſhalled, they began a furious and deſperate battle, which did not end until the prince of Spain was taken priſoner, and carried to the gallows by the other party, who would certainly have ſtrangled him, had not ſome people, who happened to be paſſing by, interpoſed and ſaved his life, which, however, they did with great difficulty; for he had hung ſo long, that the marks of the rope about his neck could never afterwards be effaced. The queen was ſo incenſed at this inſtance of diſaffection among the boys, that ſhe cauſed great numbers of them to be committed to priſon, ordered the youngeſt to be whipped, and, like a female fury, as ſhe was, even reſolved

terly inſenſible to all the feelings of humanity and generoſity, reſolved to deſtroy every perſon, from whom ſhe had the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any danger.

A meſſage was ſent to the lady Jane deſiring her to prepare for immediate death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the long train of calamities which ſhe had ſuffered, made her conſider as no unwelcome tidings.

The queen's bigotted zeal, under pretence of compaſſion for the priſoner's ſoul, prompted her to ſend divines, who harraſſed her with continual diſputations; and ſhe was even indulged with a reprieve of three days, in hopes, that ſhe would be induced, during that time, to ſecure her eternal happineſs by a timely converſion.

The lady Jane, in theſe ſad and mournful circumſtances, had preſence of mind ſufficient not only to defend her religion with equal learning and eloquence, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter Catharine in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending

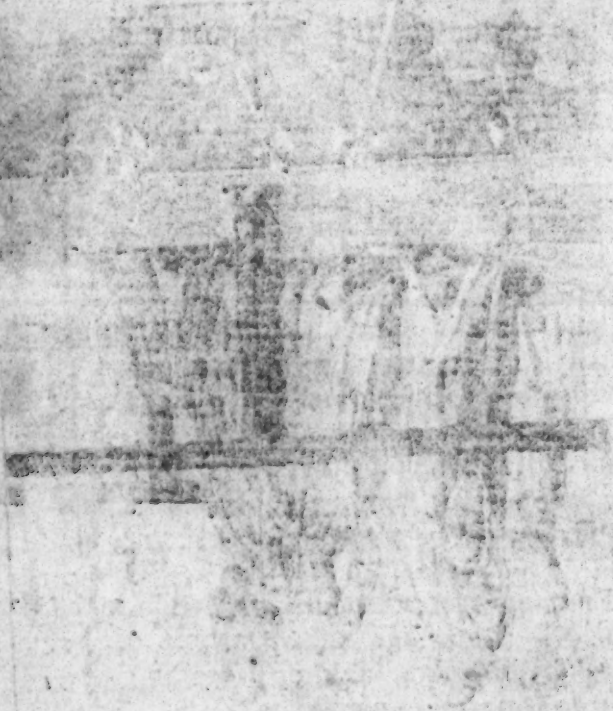
reſolved to put one of them to death *in terrorem*; a reſolution from which ſhe was happily diverted, by the advice of ſome of her counſellors, who had more humanity, or at leaſt more ſenſe, than her majeſty.

ſending her a copy of the New Teſtament in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every condition, a like ſteady and unſhaken perſeverance.

On the day of her execution, her huſband, the lord Guilford, who was doomed to ſuffer at the ſame time, deſired he might be allowed to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed to comply with his requeſt, and ſent him word, that the tenderneſs of a parting interview would too much affect their ſpirits, and perhaps render them incapable of exerting that courage and conſtancy which were ſo neceſſary at the hour of death: their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon meet each other, in a ſcene where their affections would be for ever united, and glow with unabated ardour; and where their eternal felicity would be no more diſturbed with death, diſappointment, or any other calamity.

It had been propoſed to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together, on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, fearing that the compaſſion of the people, for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, might excite ſome dangerous commotion, thought proper to alter their reſolution, and gave orders that ſhe

ſhould



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She even ſaw his headleſs body
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hn Gage, conſtable of the Tower,
led her to execution, begged ſhe
vour him with ſome ſmall preſent,
e might preſerve in honour of her
: ſhe gave him her table-book, in
e had juſt wrote three ſentences on
er huſband's dead body; one in
nother in Latin, and a third in

neaning of them was, that human
as againſt his body, but the divine
ould be propitious to his ſoul;
er fault merited puniſhment, her
leaſt, and her imprudence, might
r excuſe; and that God and po-
he hoped, would ſhow her fa-

When brought to the scaffold, she made a speech to the spectators, who were all dissolved in tears at so mournful a spectacle. She said, that her crime was not the having seized a crown, but the not refusing it with sufficient courage: that her error was less owing to ambition, than to reverence and respect to her parents, whom she had always been taught to honour and obey: that she willingly submitted to death, as the only compensation she could now make to the injured state; and though her violation of the laws had been merely the effect of force and compulsion, she would shew, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous of expiating that crime, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that she justly merited this punishment, for having been made the instrument, though the unwilling instrument, of the ambitious views of others; and that the history of her life, she hoped, might at least be productive of this advantage, that it would serve as a lasting monument to prove, that innocence can be no excuse for those facts which tended to the prejudice of the public.

Having thus spoke, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women; and, with a steady and serene countenance, submitted her neck to the stroke of the executioner.

ner. At the time of her death, ſhe had not fully attained the ſeventeenth year of her age.

In a few days after the execution of the lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and beheaded; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his raſhneſs and imprudence been the occaſion of his daughter's untimely end. The lord Thomas Gray, loſt his life for the ſame crime.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried at Guildhall; but as no poſitive proof could be adduced againſt him, he was able, by making an excellent defence, to procure a verdict of the jury in his favour.

The queen was ſo incenſed at this diſappointment, that, inſtead of reſtoring him to his liberty, as the law required, ſhe remanded him to the Tower, and kept him a priſoner for ſeveral years. Not ſatisfied with this act of ſeverity, ſhe ordered the jury to be ſummoned before the council, when all of them were committed to priſon, and afterwards fined, ſome of them a thouſand pounds, and others two thouſand a piece.

This illegal violence proved fatal to many, among others to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned and executed, on no better evi-

dence than had formerly been deemed insufficient.

The queen committed to the Tower, and the other prisons of the city, all the nobility and gentry, whom their influence with the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, had exposed to her jealousy and suspicion; and finding that she was become extremely unpopular in the kingdom, she was determined to render the malecontents incapable of resistance, by ordering general musters, and commanding the commissioners to seize their arms, and deposit them in forts and castles.

Notwithstanding the great murmurs and complaints which these proceedings occasioned, the queen's authority had been so much confirmed by the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a very compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was now convoked.

The emperor also, willing to contribute to the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than four hundred thousand pounds, which he had transmitted to England, to be expended in bribes and pensions among the members: and in order to remove the suspicions of the people, with regard to religious matters, the queen re-assumed her legal title of supreme head of the church, which

which ſhe had laid aſide about three months before.

Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; in which he maintained the queen's hereditary title to the crown; affirmed ſhe had a right to chuſe a huſband for herſelf; obſerved the good uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, ſprung from the houſe of Burgundy; and mentioned the failure of Henry the eighth's poſterity, of whom there were none ſurviving but the queen and the lady Elizabeth.

He ſubjoined, that, in order to prevent the calamities which might be occaſioned by different pretenders, it was neceſſary to grant the queen a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of naming her ſucceſſor: a power, he ſaid, which ought not to be conſidered as a new thing in England, ſince it had formerly been beſtowed upon Henry VIII.

The parliament were ſufficiently inclined gratify the queen in all her deſires; but when the liberty, independency, and even the very being of the nation were expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, they could not by any means be perſuaded to comply.

They were acquainted with the inveterate hatred which ſhe bore to the lady Elizabeth, and with her ſtrong attachment

to the house of Austria: they remembered her bigotry and superstition, which would prompt her to prefer the establishment of the Catholic religion to all considerations of justice and national interest: they observed, that Gardiner, in his speech, had carefully avoided the giving to Elizabeth the title of the queen's sister; and they thence inferred, that a design was formed of declaring her illegitimate: they apprehended, that Mary, if invested with such a power, as she demanded, would bequeath the crown to her husband, and by that means, make England a province of the Spanish monarchy: and they were the more inclined to entertain these suspicions, when they heard, that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully traced and explained, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, sensible of their danger, were resolved to keep at a distance from the precipice, on the brink of which they stood. They could not help confirming the articles of marriage, which were extremely advantageous to England; but they refused to agree to any such law as the chancellor recommended: they would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's

queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill brought in for that purpose was rejected at its first reading.

In order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exercise any authority in England, they enacted a law, importing, "that her majesty as their only "queen, should solely, and as sole queen, "enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her "realms, with all the pre-eminencies, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in "as large and ample a manner after "her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of "Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of "the realm, or by any other means."

The parliament passed a law for erecting anew the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. The queen had already, by virtue of her prerogative, restored Tonstall to the possession of that see; but though the crown was, at that time, accustomed to exercise authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to obtain the consent of parliament.

Bills were brought in for suppressing the many erroneous opinions contained in books, as well as for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the

the Lollards, againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching; but all theſe bills were rejected by the two houſes: a proof, that however inclinable the parliament might be to gratify the court in ſome points, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in other particulars. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not pay an implicit obedience to her will, concluded the ſeſſion by diſſolving them.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely engroſſed in making preparations for the reception of Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had paſſed the greateſt part of her life in a very recluſe and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo enamoured of her young ſpouſe, whom, by the bye, ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe longed with the moſt eager impatience for the conſummation of the marriage; and every obſtacle to the attainment of her wiſhes filled her with freſh anxiety and chagrin.

She complained of Philip's delays as ſtudied and affected; ſhe expreſſed her ſurpriſe and vexation, that, though ſhe brought him a kingdom for her dowry, he behaved to her in ſuch a cold and diſtant manner, that he had never yet obliged her with a firſt letter. Her fondneſs was but the

the more increaſed by this haughty and ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects were extremely averſe to the match, on which ſhe had ſet her heart, ſhe conceived the moſt implacable hatred againſt the whole Engliſh nation.

A ſquadron had been equipped, under the command of lord Effingham, in order to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral acquainting her, that the ſeamen were highly enraged againſt her future ſpouſe, and that it would not be ſafe to put him in their power, ſhe broke forth into the moſt violent expreſſions of anger and reſentment, and ordered the ſhips to be laid up in the harbour.

She was then afraid, leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, ſhould intercept her huſband, and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions.

Her health, and even her underſtanding, were ſenſibly affected by this extreme impatience; and ſhe was filled with a new apprehenſion, leſt her perſon, impaired by time, and emaciated by ſickneſs, ſhould render her leſs agreeable to her youthful ſpouſe. Her faithful glaſs ſhewed her how hagged and ugly ſhe was become; and when ſhe obſerved the decay of her perſon,

ſhe

she knew not well whether she should more desire or dread the arrival of Philip.

At last came the moment so long and so eagerly expected; and the queen received the joyful news that Philip was landed at Southampton. In a few days after his arrival, the marriage was solemnized at Westminster; and Mary, and her new spouse, having made a pompous entry into London, where the prince displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided.

Philip's behaviour was but ill fitted to remove the prejudices which the English had conceived against him. He was distant and reserved in his manner; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in forms and ceremonies, that he was almost entirely inaccessible.

This circumstance, however, only endeared him the more to the queen, who wished for no other company than that of her husband, and was extremely uneasy when she met with the least interruption to her fondness. She would never suffer him to be out of her sight; and when he treated any other woman with but common civility, she could not help expressing her jealousy and resentment.

The

The queen ſoon found, that the predominant paſſion of her huſband was ambition; and that the only method of obliging him, and effectually ſecuring his heart, was to inveſt him, if poſſible, with the entire ſovereignty of England. With this view, ſhe ſummoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding it more ſubmiſſive than the former; nor was ſhe diſappointed in her expectations.

The intereſt of the Catholics, the power of the Spaniſh gold, the influence of the prerogative, the diſcouragement of the gentry, eſpecially of the Proteſtants; all theſe cauſes, reinforced by the arts and intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a houſe of commons which was, in a great meaſure, at her devotion; and it was concluded, from the preſent humour of the people, that ſhe might now ſafely omit, in her ſummons of the parliament, the title of "Supreme head of the church of Eng-"land."

Cardinal Pole had come as far as Flanders, in his way to England: in order to pave the way for his arrival in this kingdom, the parliament paſſed an act reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring his blood; and the queen, ſuperſeding the old ſtatute of proviſors, indulged him with a power of exerciſing his legatine authority.

He

He no ſooner arrived in London, than he was introduced to the king and queen; and he earneſtly exhorted the parliament to reconcile themſelves, and the kingdom, to the holy ſee, from which they had been ſo long and ſo unhappily divided.

This propoſal was well received by the parliament, compoſed almoſt entirely of Catholics; and both houſes preſented an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of the greateſt ſin in ſeparating themſelves from the true church; profeſſing their ſorrow and contrition for their paſt offences; declaring their reſolution to annul all the laws enacted to the prejudice of the church of Rome; and beſeeching their majeſties, that, ſince they were happily innocent of that criminal ſchiſm, they would employ their good offices with the holy father in order to obtain their abſolution and forgiveneſs.

Their requeſt was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his holineſs, abſolved the parliament and kingdom from all the cenſures that had been paſſed againſt them, and admitted them again into the boſom of the church.

The parliament, however, could not be perſuaded to ratify theſe conceſſions in favour of Rome, until they had received repeated aſſurances from the pope, as well

as

as the queen, that the abbey and church lands, which had been beſtowed upon laymen, ſhould never be reſumed, but ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the preſent proprietors: and, leſt the pope or her majeſty ſhould be inclined to violate their engagements, they took care, in the law itſelf, by which they repealed the former ſtatutes enacted againſt the papal authority, to inſert a clauſe, in which, beſides eſtabliſhing the validity of all marriages contracted during the ſchiſm, and aſcertaining the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

The parliament having thus ſecured their own poſſeſſions, were very indifferent with regard to matters of religion, or even the lives of their fellow-ſubjects; and they renewed the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics, which had been aboliſhed in the reign of Edward, and the revival of which had been rejected in the former parliament. They likewiſe paſſed ſeveral new laws againſt ſeditious words and rumours; and they declared it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen.

Each parliament, hitherto, had been more complaiſant to the court than their prede-

ceſſors; but none of them had entirely laid aſide all regard for the intereſt of the nation. They ſtill retained their former hatred and averſion to the Spaniards; and though the queen endeavoured to get her huſband appointed preſumptive heir to the crown, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs; ſhe failed in both theſe attempts, and could not ſo much as perſuade the parliament to agree to his coronation.

Nor was ſhe more ſucceſsful in her endeavours to obtain a ſubſidy from the commons, in order to aſſiſt the emperor in his war againſt France; and the Engliſh, at this period, ſeem to have conceived the ſame jealouſy and animoſity againſt Spain, which they had formerly entertained againſt France.

Philip, conſcious of the general odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to recommend himſelf to the favour of the public, by procuring the enlargement of ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction; particularly the lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir William St. Low, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Vaughan, Gibbs, and Tremaine, who had been confined from the jealouſy or reſentment of the court.

But

But nothing was more acceptable to the nation, than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her ſiſter, and reſtoring her to the enjoyment of her liberty. This favour the princeſs owed not to the generoſity of Philip, a ſentiment of which he was wholly unſuſceptible; but to his artful and refined policy, which made him conclude, that, if Elizabeth were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever unite England to the crown of France.

The earl of Devonſhire, likewiſe, derived ſome advantage from the affected popularity of Philip, and recovered his liberty; but finding that the court looked upon him with an evil eye, he begged permiſſion to travel; and ſoon after died in Padua, from poiſon, as is ſuppoſed, given him by the Imperialiſts. He was the eleventh and laſt earl of Devonſhire, of the name of Courtney; one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in hiſtory, and nearly allied to the royal family of France.

The queen being extremely deſirous of having children, was the more apt to believe any appearance of her pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, ſhe imagined that ſhe felt the fœtus move in her belly. The courtiers compared this

motion of the infant to that of John the Baptiſt, who leaped in his mother's womb at the ſalutation of the virgin.

Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to acquaint foreign courts with this important event: orders were iſſued by the council to return public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already ſettled; for the Catholics were fully ſatisfied that the child would be a male: and Bonner, biſhop of London, cauſed public prayers to be ſaid, that heaven would be graciouſly pleaſed to make him handſome, vigorous, and witty.

But the nation in general were little diſpoſed to credit the report, and moſt people believed that the queen laboured under infirmities that rendered her incapable of bearing children. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was ſtill propagated with all poſſible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to maintain his authority in the kingdom. A law was enacted, which, in caſe of the queen's death, conſtituted him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could extort no farther conceſſions, came unexpectly to Weſtminſter-hall, and diſſolved the parliament.*

The

* A. D. 1555.

The next affair which engaged the attention of the miniſtry, was the conduct proper to be obſerved with regard to matters of a religious nature; and a very important queſtion was frequently debated before the queen and council, by cardinal Pole and biſhop Gardiner: this was, whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics, ſhould be executed in the full extent and rigour, or ſhould only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations.

Pole was very ſincere in his religious principles; and though, while at Rome, he had incurred, by his lenity, the ſuſpicion of a ſtrong tendency towards Lutheraniſm, he was fully convinced of the truth of the Catholic doctrines, and believed that theſe great and important intereſts ought never to be ſacrificed to any conſideration of human policy.

Gardiner, on the other hand, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his temporal concerns; and, by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhown, that, had he not been driven to extremity during the late minority, he was ſufficiently inclined to alter his opinions, and embrace the eſtabliſhed theology.

This is generally allowed to have been the real character of theſe two counſellors;

yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above principle, that the humane diſpoſition of Pole led him to recommend a toleration of thoſe heretical tenets which he highly condemned; while the cruel heart of Gardiner incited him to ſupport, by perſecution, that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with the utmoſt indifference.

Theſe two prelates endeavoured to enforce their favourite ſyſtems, by all the arguments and topics which their great abilities and extenſive learning enabled them to ſuggeſt. But, unhappily for the nation, the arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and the expedient of toleration was entirely rejected.

It was therefore reſolved to execute the laws in their utmoſt rigour and ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror and barbarity, which have juſtly rendered the Catholic religion the object of univerſal hatred and abhorrence, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, concealed under the ſpecious garb of religion.

The firſt victim of this religious fury was one Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, a man equally diſtinguiſhed for the piety of his life and the extent of his learning.

Gardi-

Gardiner's ſcheme was to begin with men of that character, whom, he hoped, the fear of puniſhment would intimidate into ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example, if they would be brought to recant, would have a conſiderable influence on the people: but he found a courage and fortitude in Rogers, which almoſt ſeems to exceed the unaſſiſted ſtrength of the human mind, and of which, however, all ſects and all ages afford numerous examples.

Rogers, beſide the care of his own ſafety, had many other motives to tempt him to a compliance: he had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his compoſure after his condemnation, that the jailors awaked him from a ſound ſleep when the hour of his execution came.

He had begged the favour of ſeeing his wife before he died; but Gardiner, adding inſult to cruelty, told him, that as he was a prieſt, he could not poſſibly have a wife: and thus the unhappy man, without being allowed to bid a laſt farewel to his diſconſolate ſpouſe, was hurried away to Smithfield, where he was committed to the flames.

Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, had been condemned at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent down to his own dioceſe to ſuffer.

ſuffer. This circumſtance was intended to ſtrike terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of joy and ſatisfaction to Hooper, who gladly embraced the opportunity of confirming, by his death, that doctrine which he had formerly taught them.

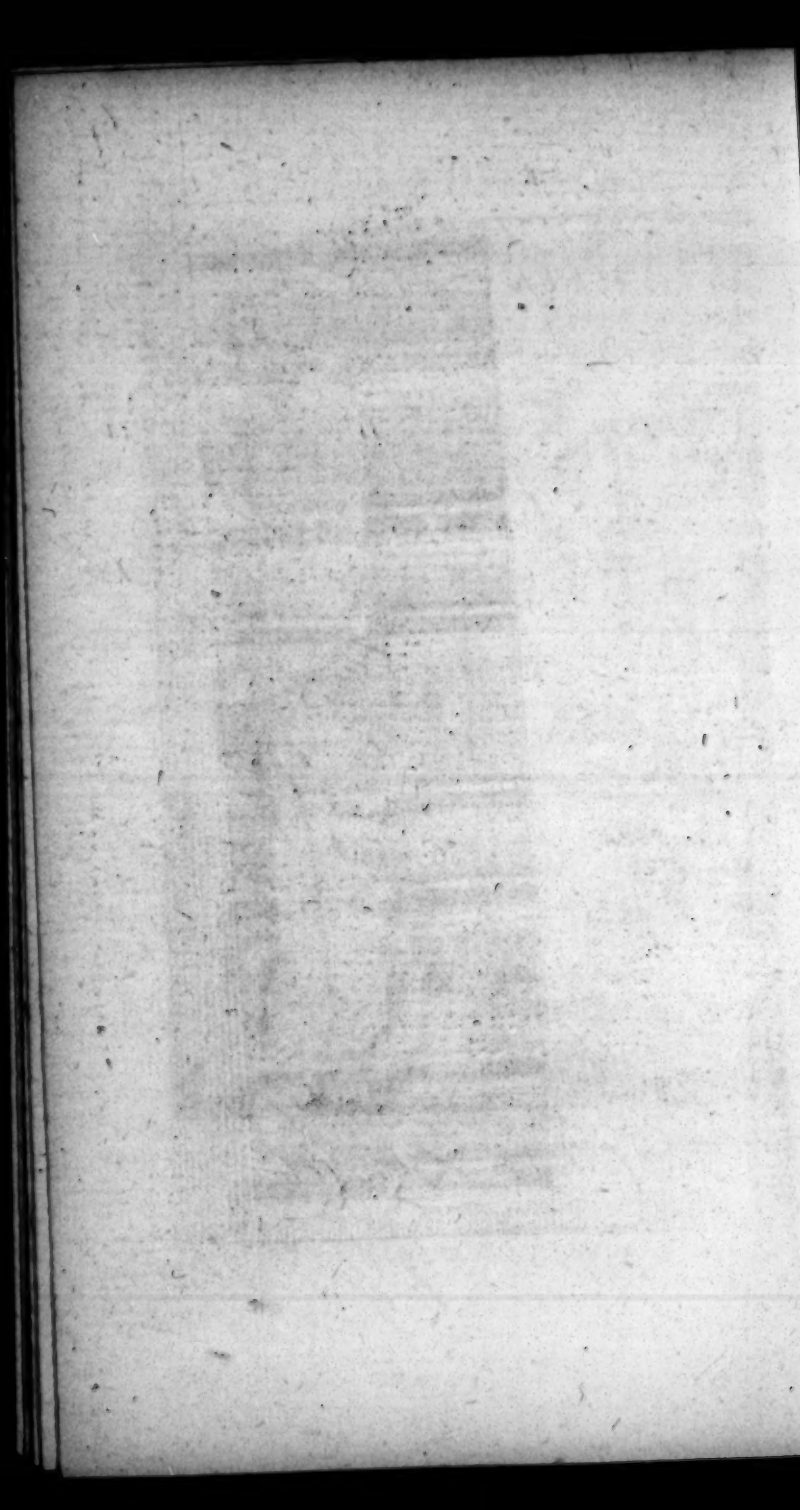
When he was fixed to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, by accepting which he might ſtill have ſaved his life: but he ordered it to be taken away; and chearfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was doomed.

His death was attended with every circumſtance that could heighten its ſeverity: the wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: the faggots were green and did not eaſily take fire: all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were affected: one hand dropt off; with the other he continued to beat his breaſt; he was heard to pray and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of the agony, was rendered incapable of motion. He was no leſs than three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with the moſt ſurprizing and inflexible conſtancy.

Saunders ſuffered at Coventry: he was alſo indulged with the offer of pardon; but he

Bishops burnt in
SMITHFIELD.

Engraved for Riders History of England.



he rejected it with diſdain, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of "Chriſt; welcome everlaſting life."

Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was burned in that place, amidſt his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When he was brought to the ſtake and began to harangue the bye-ſtanders, one of the guards ſtruck him on the head. Then he was placed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the ſpectators throwing a faggot at the good old man which wounded him ſeverely, ſo that his whole viſage was beſmeared with blood, he replied, "Oh friend! I have harm "enough, what needed that?"

When he repeated a pſalm in Engliſh, one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, and bid him ſpeak Latin; and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head with a halbert in ſuch a manner, that his brains came out, and he expired.

The article upon which almoſt all the Proteſtants were condemned, was their refuſal to acknowledge the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Gardiner, who had vainly imagined that a few examples would frighten the Reformers into a compliance, finding the work grow daily upon him, devolved the odious taſk on others, but chiefly on Bonner, biſhop of London, a man of the

the moſt profligate and abandoned manners, and of ſuch a ſavage and cruel diſpoſition, that he ſeemed to delight in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers.

He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: he tore out the beard of a weaver, who refuſed to change his religion; and in order to give him a ſpecimen of burning, he held the candle to his hand until the veins burſt, and the ſinews were conſumed.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to the cardinal was entirely diſregarded. Ridley, formerly biſhop of London, and Latimer of Worceſter, two prelates diſtinguiſhed for their piety and learning, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and encouraged each other by their mutual exhortations.

When tied to the ſtake, Ridley ſaid to his fellow-ſufferer, "Be of good heart, bro-
"ther, for God will either aſſwage the
"flame, or enable us to endure it." And Latimer conſoled him in his turn by ſaying, "We ſhall this day light ſuch a torch
"in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall ne-
"ver be extinguiſhed."

The executioners had been ſo merciful (for mercy it certainly was) as to tie bags of

of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy end to their tortures: Latimer, being extremely old and infirm, was inſtantly killed by the exploſion; but Ridley, being more ſtrong and vigorous, continued alive, during ſome time, in the midſt of the flames.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, having been drawn by a prieſt into a diſpute, had inadvertently denied the real preſence. Apprehenſive of the conſequences of this imprudent ſtep, he immediately concealed himſelf; and Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened to puniſh him with the utmoſt rigour, if he did not produce the young man in order to undergo a trial. Hunter being informed of the danger to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf to Bonner, who, without regarding his youth and inexperience, committed him to the flames for his error.

Thomas Hawkes, when brought to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the pain tolerable, he would give them a ſignal in the midſt of the flames. Supported by his natural fortitude, and animated with the warmeſt zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered, he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in this poſture he expired. This example, with

with many others of the like nature, encouraged multitudes, not only to ſubmit, but even to aſpire to martyrdom.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly a ſtronger propenſity to religion, exhibited many inſtances of the moſt invincible courage in maintaining the profeſſion of it, againſt all the fury and barbarity of their perſecutors. One execution, in particular, was attended with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, as, even in that age, occaſioned the utmoſt horror and aſtoniſhment. A woman in Guernſey, being big with child when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch convulſions by the violence of the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and endeavoured to ſave it; but the magiſtrate who ſuperintended the execution, cauſed it to be thrown back; being reſolved, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprung from ſuch a perverſe and heretical parent.

The perſons ſubjected to theſe puniſhments were not condemned for uttering or publiſhing ſentiments contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: they were apprehended merely on ſuſpicion; and certain articles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they were imme-

immediately, upon this refuſal, committed to the flames.

Theſe inſtances of barbarity, ſo uncommon in the kingdom, arouſed the indignation of every humane and generous perſon: the fortitude of the martyrs was the object of univerſal admiration; and as men have a principle of equity imprinted in their minds, which even ſuperſtition is not able entirely to efface, they were ſhocked to ſee perſons of virtue, of honour, and of pious diſpoſitions, condemned to puniſhments more ſevere than were inflicted on the greateſt villains, for crimes deſtructive of civil ſociety.

To extirpate the whole Proteſtant party, was known to be an impracticable ſcheme; and nothing could be more unjuſt, as well as impolitic, than to deſtroy the moſt conſcientious and courageous among them; and permit the cowards and hypocrites to eſcape with impunity. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equal to an hundred ſermons againſt popery; and men either ſhunned ſuch horrid ſpectacles, or returned from them, glowing with a violent, though ſecret, indignation againſt the perſecutors. Frequent orders were ſent from the council, to quicken the diligence of the magiſtrates in diſcovering and puniſhing he-

retics; and in some places the gentry were compelled to be present at these barbarous executions.

Such cruel and inhuman proceedings could not fail to render the Spanish government extremely unpopular; and Philip, sensible of the odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to vindicate himself by a very gross artifice: he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine which could hardly be expected from the mouth of a Spanish friar.

But the court, perceiving that Bonner, though lost to all sense of shame and humanity, would not bear the whole load of public hatred, soon pulled off the mask; and the cruel temper of Mary, as well as of Philip, began to rage without controul. Some attempts were even made to introduce the inquisition into England.

As it appeared that the bishops courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined to the ordinary forms of law, were not possessed of sufficient authority, a commission was appointed by virtue of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to exterminate heresy. Twenty-one persons were nominated; but any three of them were invested with the powers of the whole.

The

The commiſſion was conceived in theſe terms; "that ſince many falſe rumours were "publiſhed among the ſubjects, and many "heretical opinions were propagated among "them, therefore they were to enquire into "thoſe, either by preſentments, by witneſſes, "or any other political way they ſhould "think proper, and to ſearch after all he-"reſies, the importers, the ſellers, and the "readers of all heretical books; they "were to examine and to puniſh all miſ-"behaviours or negligences, in any church "or chapel; and to try all prieſts that "did not preach the ſacrament of the al-"tar; all perſons that did not hear maſs, "or come to their pariſh church to ſer-"vice, that refuſed to go in proceſſions, "or did not take holy bread and holy wa-"ter: and if they found any that did "obſtinately perſevere in ſuch hereſies, "they were to deliver them into the hands "of their ordinaries, to be puniſhed ac-"cording to the ſpiritual laws: giving "the commiſſioners full power to pro-"ceed, as their diſcretions and conſciences "ſhould direct them, and to employ all "ſuch means as they ſhould judge neceſ-"ſary for the ſearching of the premiſes; "empowering them alſo to ſummon be-"fore them ſuch witneſſes as they pleaſed, "and to compel them to make oath of

" ſuch things as might diſcover the mat-
" ter, which they wanted to find out."

To reduce the methods of proceeding in England to a greater ſimilarity with thoſe of the inquiſition, letters were ſent to the lord North, and others, commanding them, " to put to the torture ſuch ob-
" ſtinate perſons as would not confeſs,
" and there to order them at their diſcre-
" tion." Secret ſpies likewiſe, and informers, were ſcattered over the whole kingdom, in imitation of the practice of that wicked tribunal.

Orders were given to the juſtices of the peace, " that they ſhould call ſecretly be-
" fore them one or two honeſt perſons
" within their limits, or more, at their
" diſcretion, and command them by oath,
" or otherwiſe, that they ſhall ſecretly
" learn and ſearch out ſuch perſons as
" ſhall evil-behave themſelves in church,
" or idly, or ſhall deſpiſe openly by words,
" the king's or queen's proceedings, or
" endeavour to excite any commotion, or
" tell any ſeditious tales or news. And
" alſo, that the ſame perſon ſo to be ap-
" pointed, ſhall declare to the ſame juſ-
" tices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd,
" diſorderly perſons, whether it ſhall be
" for uſing unlawful games, and ſuch o-
" ther light behaviour of ſuch ſuſpected
" perſons :

"persons: and that the same information "shall be given secretly to the justices; "and the same justices shall summon such "accused persons before them, and exa- "mine them, without declaring by whom "they were accused. And that the same "justices shall, upon their examination, "punish the offenders, according as their "offences shall appear, upon the accuse- "ment and examination, by their discre- "tion, either by open punishment, or by "good abearings."

This tyrannical edict was, in some respects, even more oppressive than the inquisition; as it introduced into every part of government, the same iniquitous proceedings which that tribunal employs only for the extirpation of heresy. But the court had invented a more expeditious and summary method of suppressing heresy than even the inquisition itself. They published a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, importing, "that whosoever had any of these books, "and did not immediately burn them, "without reading them, or shewing them "to any other person, should be deemed "rebels; and without any farther process, "be executed by martial-law." To such intolerable and disgraceful slavery were the

free-born natives of England, at that time, reduced by the tyranny of Mary and her Spaniſh conſort.

We have thrown in one group almoſt all the tranſactions againſt the Reformers, though carried on during the ſpace of three years; not ſo much that the reader may be affected with the horrors of the ſcene, as that we may be obliged, as little as poſſible, to return to the recital of ſuch ſhocking and inhuman barbarities.

It is computed that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were committed to the flames; beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

That Mary could be guilty of ſuch ſhocking cruelties is not to be wondered (for what is there ſo ſhocking and cruel of which a weak, peeviſh, and bigotted woman may not be guilty) but it is really ſurprizing, that, conſidering the ſtate of the kingdom at that period, when the number of Proteſtants greatly exceeded that of the Papiſts, ſhe was ſuffered to ſurvive one moment the commiſſion of ſuch horrid barbarities.

The

The queen having thus, as ſhe probably thought, recommended herſelf to the favour of heaven by the deſtruction of ſo many heretics, hoped, that Bonner's prayers for the beauty, wit, and vigour of her child would happily prove effectual. In theſe hopes ſhe fondly imagined, that ſhe was ſeized with the pains of child-bed, and couriers were prepared to carry the joyful news of her delivery into foreign countries.

Bonner, who attributed this happy event, in a great meaſure, to the influence of his own prayers, cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in his cathedral; and the curate of St. Anne's, near Alderſgate, went ſo far as to deſcribe, from the pulpit, the features and lineaments of the young prince, whom he repreſented as the fineſt child that ever was born.

But unhappily the biſhop's prayers had not been heard; the queen's zeal for the advancement of popery, had not been able to ſecure the bleſſing of heaven; and the curate's deſcription happened to be a little premature. The queen, after ſome violent throws, was delivered, not of a child, but of a ſubſtance known by the name of a Mola, to her own unſpeakable grief, as well as to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, and the confuſion of Philip, who had

had flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of uniting England and Spain by the iſſue of this marriage.

But though the burning of heretics was not ſufficient to recommend the queen to the favour of heaven, yet was it a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the church of Rome, and little ſolicitation was neceſſary to perſuade the pope to receive the ſtrayed flock, from which he derived ſo much advantage. Nevertheleſs, there was a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to Rome, compoſed of Sir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montacute, the biſhop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, in order to carry the ſubmiſſion of England, and beg to be admitted a-new into the boſom of the catholic church.

The papal chair, after a ſhort vacancy, was now filled by Paul the fourth; one of the moſt haughty and imperious pontiffs that, during ſeveral ages, had poſſeſſed that dignity. He was offended, that Mary ſtill retained among her other titles, that of queen of Ireland; and he aſſerted that he, and he only, had a right, according as he ſaw proper, either to erect new kingdoms, or to aboliſh the old: but to prevent all diſputes with the new converts, he was pleaſed to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and

and then admitted the title, as if it had been his own conceſſion.

This was the common policy of the popes, to permit that which they could not hinder; and then pretend, that perſons, while they exerciſed their own power, were only acting by authority from the papacy: and though Paul had at firſt reſolved to compel Mary formally to relinquiſh her title, before he would confer it upon her; he found it wiſer to proceed in a more political, and leſs imperious manner.

The other point of controverſy, between the pope and the Engliſh, was not eaſily decided. Paul demanded, that the church ſhould be re-inſtated in the property and poſſeſſion of her revenues, even to the utmoſt farthing: that whatever appertained to God, could not by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: that he would willingly reward the piety of the Engliſh in returning thus voluntarily into the boſom of the church, by making them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that ſo great a profanation would for ever ſubject them to the divine diſpleaſure, and would blaſt all their hopes of future happineſs: that if they would truly

truly shew the sincerity of their submission, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Roman church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that the apostle would open to them the gates of heaven, while they thus impiously deprived him of his possessions on earth.

These remonstrances being sent over to England, though they were little regarded by the people in general, had a powerful effect on the mind of the queen; and she was resolved to ease her conscience, by restoring all the church-lands which were still in the possession of the crown; as previous to which measure, she began to erect anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstand the low condition of the public revenues.

When this affair was discussed in council, some members alledged, that if so great a part of the revenue was alienated, the crown would not be able to support its proper dignity; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul, to ten such kingdoms as England.

These impolitic measures would not probably have been pursued with so much eagerness, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: the seals were bestowed upon Heath, archbishop

biſhop of York, that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be inveſted with that high office, and be the better enabled, by his authority, to promote the perſecutions againſt the Proteſtants.

Theſe perſecutions had rendered the miniſtry extremely unpopular; and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament, which was convoked at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-firſt day of October.

A law was made, re-inſtating the church in the poſſeſſion of the tenths and firſt fruits, and all the impropriations, which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter related directly to none but the queen herſelf, the bill met with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons.

The miniſtry having applied for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members affirmed, that while the crown was thus alienating its revenues, it would be a taſk equally fruitleſs and abſurd, to endeavour to enrich it.

A bill was introduced, for obliging exiles to return, under certain penalties; and another for diſqualifying ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy, from being juſtices of peace; but both theſe bills were rejected by the commons. The queen, perceiving

ceiving the refractory disposition of the lower house, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

Mary was likely to be the more chagrined at the spirit of opposition which began to appear in parliament, as she was otherwise in very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding himself extremely unpopular in England, had embraced the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders.

The coldness and indifference of her husband, joined to the disappointment of her supposed pregnancy, affected her with the deepest melancholy; and her temper, naturally sour and peevish, and still farther irritated by these vexations, vented itself in the most cruel persecutions against the Protestants, and even in the most violent expressions of rage and indignation against all her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing to bestow the sovereignty upon Philip, was the cause, she imagined, why he had alienated his affections from her, and favoured her with so little of his company.

The neglect of her husband tended only to inflame her love; and she spent the greatest part of her time in solitude, where she

ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom obliged her with any anſwer, and ſcarce condeſcended to aſſume the appearance of love, or even of gratitude towards her.

The chief part of government which employed her attention, was to ſqueeze money from her ſubjects, in order to ſupply his wants; and as ſhe had received but a ſmall ſubſidy from the parliament, ſhe had now recourſe to methods the moſt arbitrary and illegal.

She demanded a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds from a thouſand perſons, who, either on account of their great wealth, or their attachment to her, would, ſhe imagined, comply with her requeſt: but that ſum not being ſufficient, ſhe exacted a general loan of an hundred pounds a-piece, from every perſon who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year.

This intolerable tax lay very heavy on the inferior gentry, many of whom were obliged to retrench their expences, and diſcard their ſervants, in order to enable them to furniſh their proportion; and as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtance, betook themſelves commonly to theft and robbery, the queen iſſued a proclamation, command-

ing their former maſters to receive them again into their ſervice.

She extorted ſixty thouſand marks from ſeven thouſand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted thirty-ſix thouſand pounds more from the merchants. In order to perſuade ſome Londoners to ſubmit the more chearfully to her numerous extortions, ſhe iſſued an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exportation of any Engliſh cloths or kerſeys to Flanders; a prohibition which procured a good market for thoſe who had already ſent their cloth thither.

Nor was it only in England, that ſhe thus diſplayed her avarice and extortion. The Engliſh company, ſettled in Antwerp, having refuſed her a loan of forty thouſand pounds, ſhe concealed her reſentment till ſhe heard that they had purchaſed and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: ſhe then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and compelled the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thouſand pounds at firſt demanded; to give ſecurity for the payment of twenty thouſand pounds more at a certain time; and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on every piece.

Some time after, ſhe was told that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above forty thou-

thouſand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay a crown a piece, the common duty: ſhe made a bargain with the merchant-adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners, under the ſevereſt penalties, from exporting their cloth; and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſequence of this act of injuſtice, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, together with a duty of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export.

She endeavoured to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low, that, though ſhe offered fourteen per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thouſand pounds, ſhe could not procure it, till ſhe had compelled the city of London to be ſecurity for her.

All theſe violent and oppreſſive meaſures were purſued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and when Mary herſelf had no other occaſion for money, but to ſatisfy the exorbitant demands of a huſband, who was equally regardleſs of her love and her generoſity, and attended to nothing but his own intereſt.

Philip was now become maſter of all the treaſures of the Indies, and of the moſt fertile and extenſive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of the emperor,

Charles the fifth, who, though ſtill in the vigour of his age, had taken a diſguſt to the world, and was reſolved to ſeek, in privacy and retirement, for that happineſs which he had in vain endeavoured to find amidſt the noiſy tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition.

He convoked the ſtates of the Low Countries; and, placing himſelf on the throne for the laſt time, acquainted his ſubjects with the reaſons of his reſignation, abſolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, transferring his authority to Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderneſs made the tears ſtart into his eyes, when he reflected on the heavy burden which he laid upon his ſhoulders.

Having furniſhed his ſon with ſome excellent inſtructions concerning the government of his new dominions, he retired to St. Juſt, a monaſtery of Eſtramedura,* where he died about two years after, leaving behind him the character of one of the greateſt, though perhaps not one of the moſt virtuous princes, that ever the world beheld.

He had, in the beginning of his reign, found it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to govern, with proper care, his very diſtant

* A. D. 1556.

distant and extensive dominions; and, in order to ease himself of part of the burden, he had procured his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans; with a prospect of his succeeding to the Imperial dignity, as well as to his other German dominions.

But having afterwards extended his views, and formed designs of aggrandizing his family, he was sorry that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to persuade Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most pressing importunities, to give up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding that his brother lent a deaf ear to all his remonstrances, he had resigned the Imperial crown, with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to the usual custom, applied to the pope for his coronation.

The haughty pontiff refused to comply with his request; and alledged, that, though, on the death of an emperor, he was bound in duty to crown the prince elected; yet, in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to name an emperor.

The conduct of Paul was, in every other respect, agreeable to these high and lofty pretensions. He boldly declared to all foreign ambassadors, that he had no occasion

for the assistance of any prince, that he was infinitely exalted above all potentates of the earth, that he would not suffer kings to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him, that it was his right, and his only, to alter and regulate kingdoms, that he was the successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors, and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set the universe on fire.

He carried his pride to such a ridiculous height, that he declared at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly in a public consistory, that he would not admit kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under his feet: so saying, he stamped the ground with his old feeble limbs; for he he was now past the eightieth year of his age.

He had conceived the most inveterate hatred against the house of Austria; and, though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he persuaded Henry to break it, and engaged to assist him in re-conquering Naples, and the other territories to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had cost his predecessors immense quantities of blood and treasure, and which, after all, they had never been able to accomplish.

He

He himself commenced hostilities against the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and the duke of Guise being sent with forces to second his operations, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed unavoidable. Philip, though not so warlike, was as ambitious as his father; and he hoped, that, by his artifice, policy, and address, he should be able to get the better of all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion.

For this reason, as well as from a desire of settling his new empire, he was desirous of living on good terms with France; but when he found that Henry had attacked him in such an open and unprovoked manner, that he could not, consistent with his honour, overlook the affront, he began to prepare for war with equal diligence and success.

In order to strengthen himself with foreign aid, he endeavoured to engage England in the quarrel; and though the queen was extremely unwilling to embark in such a hazardous enterprize, he flattered himself that the love and affection which, notwithstanding his coldness and indifference, she still bore him, would effectually induce her to comply with his request.

Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of refusing the demand

demands of her husband; but she had little influence in her council, still less among her people; and her government, which was daily growing more unpopular, seemed unable to support itself, even during a profound peace, much more if a war was kindled with France, and, what appeared to be a necessary consequence, with Scotland also, assisted by that powerful kingdom.

Mary was this year guilty of an act of barbarity, which, joined to many other instances of the like nature, rendered her the object of universal hatred and detestation. Cranmer had long been confined in prison; but the queen was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and, the more fully to glut her revenge, she determined to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason.

He was summoned by the pope to appear at Rome, in order to undergo a trial: and, though he was known to be a close prisoner at Oxford, he was, for his non-appearance, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent down to Oxford to degrade him; and the former performed that melancholy office, with all the savage joy and triumph which might be expected from his brutal disposition.

The revenge of the queen, not content with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed to be certain, and the execu-

execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was doomed, incited her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of argument and reaſon, againſt which they knew he was ſufficiently prepared; but by policy, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities and honours to which his character ſtill gave him a claim, if he would deſerve them by a recantation; and by flattering him with the hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the courſe of his proſperity.

Influenced by that love of life which is inſeparable from the human heart, and terrified at the proſpect of thoſe dreadful torments to which he was condemned, he ſuffered, in an unguarded hour, the feelings of nature to overpower his reſolution, and he agreed to ſign a paper, acknowledging the doctrine of the papal ſupremacy and of the real preſence.

The queen, whoſe perfidy was only exceeded by her cruelty, reſolved that this recantation ſhould not ſave his life; and ſhe ſent orders that he ſhould be commanded to own his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould

from

from thence be immediately conducted to execution.

Cranmer, whether it was that he had received some secret notice of their intention, or that he had repented of his weakness and apostacy, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He said that he was sufficiently acquainted with the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws of the land; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear without resistance whatever punishment they should inflict upon him: that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to maintain the truth on all occasions, and not to abandon, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind; that there was one error of his life, which, above all others, filled him with the most unfeigned sorrow and repentance; the insincere declaration of faith, to which he had been unhappily induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him: that he chearfully embraced the present opportunity of attoning for his crime, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be revealed from heaven;

ven; and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, and by a ſevere but juſt doom, ſhould firſt expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the inſtrument of committing.

He was thence conducted to the ſtake amidſt the ſhouts and inſults of the Catholics; and having now collected all the force and vigour of his mind, he bore their ſcorn as well as the torture of his puniſhment with ſurprizing courage and reſolution. He ſtretched out his hand, and without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames, until it dropt off. His mind ſeemed to be wholly poſſeſſed with reflections on his former fault; and he was heard to exclaim ſeveral times, "this "hand has offended."

Satisfied with that attonement, he then re-aſſumed a wonderful compoſure and ſerenity of countenance; and when the fire ſurrounded his body, he ſeemed to be entirely inſenſible of all his outward ſufferings, and by the force of hope and Chriſtian fortitude to have raiſed himſelf above all bodily ſenſations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames.

It is pretended, that, after his body was deſtroyed, his heart was found entire a-

among

mong the ashes; a circumstance, which, however improbable, yet being considered as an emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous Protestants.

He was certainly a man of the most amiable character; alike distinguished by his piety and learning; and possessed of candour, sincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almost every virtue that could render him the object of public esteem and veneration.

After Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was promoted to the see of Canterbury; and, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, he was naturally placed at the head of the English church. But though he had always disapproved the sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and considered the reformation of the clergy as the more commendable, and even the more effectual expedient for that purpose; he found his authority too weak to withstand the cruel and barbarous zeal of the queen and her counsellors.

He was sensible that he himself had incurred the suspicion of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the present pope, was a furious persecutor, and his inveterate enemy, he thought it more safe and more prudent to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he

he was likely to meet with greater ſucceſs.

The great object of the queen's attention, was to embark the nation in the war which had lately broke out between France and Spain; but this meaſure was warmly oppoſed by cardinal Pole and ſeveral other counſellors.*

They ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the marriage articles, which effectually provided againſt ſuch an attempt; they repreſented the unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government, the domeſtic factions which divided the kingdom, and the low condition of the public revenues: and they ſignified their apprehenſions, that the natural tendency of all theſe meaſures was to bring the nation into a total dependance on Spaniſh councils.

Philip had lately arrived in London, in order, if poſſible, to carry his point; and, the more certainly to attain his end, he told the queen, that, if he was thwarted in this particular, he would never more ſet foot on Engliſh ground.

This was a terrible declaration to a woman of Mary's diſpoſition; and it is no wonder that ſhe tried every expedient to



* A. D. 1557.

conquer the obſtinacy of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſcard them all from the board, and to chooſe counſellors who would be more obedient to her will; yet, even then, ſhe could not procure a vote for declaring war againſt France.

At laſt, one Stafford, and ſome other confederates, being detected in an attempt to ſurprize Scarborough; and a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been inſtigated by Henry to undertake this enterprize, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was reſolved to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and uncertain nature, the pretext for a rupture. War was accordingly declared againſt France; and orders were ſent to the ſeveral ſea-ports, to make preparations for invading that kingdom.

The revenue of England was at that time little more than three hundred thouſand pounds: in the preſent humour of the nation, no conſiderable ſupplies could be expected from parliament; and as the war would ſenſibly diminiſh the branch of cuſtoms, the finances, it was evident, would not be ſufficient to defray the neceſſary charges

charges of government, and far leſs to ſupport the vaſt expences of war.

But though the queen owed great arrears to all her ſervants, beſides the loans extorted from her ſubjects, ſhe could not be perſuaded to the practice of oeconomy, but ſtill continued to levy money in the ſame violent and illegal manner which ſhe had formerly purſued.

She compelled the citizens of London to furniſh her with the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, on her huſband's entry: ſhe levied, before the regular time, the ſecond year's ſubſidy granted by parliament: ſhe iſſued anew many privy-ſeals, by which ſhe obtained loans from her people; and having prepared a fleet, which ſhe could not victual on account of the dearth of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, without making any compenſation to the proprietors.*



* The queen rendered herſelf ſo unpopular by theſe arbitrary and illegal proceedings, that ſhe became the ſubject of ſeveral ſatirical prints, which were thrown into the lodgings of her counſellors, and even dropped in her own chamber. Among other pieces of this nature, there was a print repreſenting her majeſty naked, meager, withered, and wrinkled, with flabby breaſts hanging

By theſe violent and illegal methods, aſſiſted by the no leſs illegal power of impreſſing, ſhe collected an army of ten thouſand men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low Countries,

hanging down to a great length, ſo as to create diſguſt and averſion, ſeated in a royal chair, and adorned with a crown, ſurrounded with the letters M. R. and A. in capital characters. In the firſt of theſe was written, in ſmaller characters, *Maria*; in the ſecond, *Regina*; and in the third, *Angliæ*. All around her was drawn a great number of Spaniards, ſucking her with the utmoſt eagerneſs and violence. At the foot of the print was a paragraph, importing that ſhe had been ſucked ſo unmercifully by the Spaniards, that ſhe had nothing left but ſkin and bones. Next were mentioned and ſpecified, with great exactneſs, all the money, rings, jewels, preſents, and aids with which ſhe had privately ſupplied her huſband; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, particular notice was taken, in what place they were levied or received, by whom carried, when and to whom delivered, with many other anecdotes and circumſtances which filled no leſs than two ſheets of paper. The queen was highly incenſed at this ſevere ſatire; and ſo much the more that ſhe knew it was but too well founded: yet ſo greatly was ſhe afraid of its being publiſhed, that ſhe took care to ſecure and deſtroy all the copies that could be found in the palace; chuſing rather to digeſt the affront in ſecret, than to expoſe herſelf to public ſhame, by attempting to diſcover the authors. Theſe, ſhe knew, could be no other than ſome of the members of her own council; who alone were acquainted with many of the particulars contained in this ſevere and ſatirical piece.

Countries, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke.

Mean while, in order to prevent any inteſtine commotions, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were taken into cuſtody; and, leſt they ſhould be known, the Spaniſh cuſtom was followed: they were either ſeized and committed in the night-time, or were hood-winked and muffled by the guards who conducted them to priſon.

The king of Spain had levied an army, which, being now joined by the Engliſh, amounted to no leſs than ſixty thouſand men, commanded by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of the age. The conſtable, Montmorenci, who headed the French army, had not above half the number to oppoſe him. The duke of Savoy, after threatening Mariemberg and Rocroy, ſuddenly inveſted St. Quintin; and, as the place was poorly fortified, and defended by a weak garriſon, he hoped that in a few days he ſhould compel it to ſurrender.

But the admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking it his duty to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St. Quintin, with ſome troops of French and Scotch Gens-d'armes; and, by his exhortation and example, encouraged the ſol-

diers to make a bold and vigorous defence.

He sent a messenger to his uncle, the constable, desiring a supply of men; and that general advanced to the place with his whole army, in order to favour the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy fell upon the reinforcement with such irresistible fury, that not above five hundred men got into the place. He next assaulted the French army; which, after a brave resistance, was totally defeated, four thousand of them being killed in the action, and the rest entirely dispersed.

In this bloody battle, many of the chief nobility of France, were either slain or made prisoners: among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and determined to die rather than survive his disgrace, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus was taken alive.

This fatal event filled the whole kingdom of France with terror and consternation: the Parisians began to fortify their capital, with the utmost hurry and expedition; and, had the Spaniards immediately advanced thither, they would certainly have made themselves master of the place.

But

But Philip was, by no means, of an enterprizing ſpirit; and he was reſolved to reduce St. Quintin, in order to preſerve a communication with his other dominions. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſoon be able to accompliſh this enterprize: but the bravery of Coligny prolonged the ſiege for the ſpace of ſeventeen days; a circumſtance which ſaved France from impending ruin.

Some troops were raiſed and aſſembled. Couriers were diſpatched to recal the duke of Guiſe, and his army, from Italy: and the French, having recovered from their firſt pannic, began to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Philip, after reducing Ham and Caſtilet, found the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that he could not think of proſecuting his conqueſts, and he therefore broke up his camp, and diſperſed his troops in winter quarters.

But the duke of Guiſe, not content with defending the frontiers, reſolved, even in the depth of winter, to undertake an enterprize, which France, during her greateſt ſucceſſes, had always conſidered as impoſſible, and had never preſumed to attempt.

Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortreſs; and as it was known to

to be the favourite of the Engliſh nation, by whom it could eaſily be ſupplied with ſuccours, the reduction of that place, by France, was regarded as a ſcheme abſolutely impracticable. But Coligny had obſerved that, as the town of Calais was encompaſſed with marſhes, which during the winter were impaſſable, except over a dyke, defended by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newman-bridge, the Engliſh were wont, on account of the low ſtate of their public revenues, to ſend home a great part of the garriſon at the end of Autumn, and to recall them in the Spring, at which time alone they thought their preſence neceſſary.

On this circumſtance he had founded a ſcheme of taking the place by ſtorm; he had ordered it to be ſecretly ſurveyed by ſome engineers; and a plan of the whole undertaking being found among his papers, it ſerved, though he himſelf was made priſoner on the ſurrender of St. Quintin, to ſuggeſt the deſign of that enterprize, and to regulate the conduct of the duke of Guiſe.

Several ſmall parties of troops were detached towards the frontiers, on various pretences; and the whole of them, being drawn together, compoſed an army, with which

which the duke of Guiſe advanced towards Calais.*

At the ſame time, a great number of French ſhips, being ſent into the Channel, under colour of making repriſals on the Engliſh, formed a fleet, which attacked the fortifications by ſea. The French made an aſſault upon St. Agatha, with three thouſand harquebuſiers; and, though the garriſon defended themſelves with great bravery, they were ſoon compelled to relinquiſh the place, and retire towards Newman-bridge.

The ſiege of this latter place was immediately formed, and, at the ſame time, the fleet cannonaded the Riſbank, which ſecured the entry of the harbour; and both theſe caſtles ſeemed to be altogether untenable.

The governor, lord Wentworth, was a moſt accompliſhed officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garriſon was ſhut up in Newman or the Riſbank, he ſent them orders to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was totally incapable to defend. The garriſon of Newman-bridge were ſo fortunate as to accompliſh this purpoſe; but that

* A. D. 1558.

that of the Risbank could not procure such honourable terms, and were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The duke of Guise having now blocked up Calais, both by sea and land, imagined that his enterprize could hardly fail of success; but, lest any unforeseen accident should blast his hopes, he resolved immediately to attack the place with the utmost vigour.

He accordingly directed his batteries towards the castle, in which he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the ditch, he commanded a general assault, which proved successful, and the French effected a lodgment in the castle.

On the ensuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to regain this post; but having lost two hundred men in an attempt which he made for that purpose, he found his garrison so weak that he was forced to capitulate.

Ham and Guisnes were soon after reduced; and thus the duke of Guise, in the space of eight days, in the depth of winter, re-conquered this important place, which had cost Edward the third a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army,

army, flushed with the glory they had lately gained in the fields of Cressy.

The English had possessed it above two hundred years; and as it afforded them, whenever they thought proper, an easy entrance into the heart of France, it was always esteemed as of the utmost importance. This signal event revived the spirits of the French nation, and greatly augmented the military fame of the duke of Guise, who, at a time when all Europe believed France to be involved in the utmost calamity and distress, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, recovered possession of a place, which no former king of France, during a course of so many years, nor even during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever dared to attempt.

The English, on the other hand, deprived of this valuable fortress, clamoured aloud against the imprudence of the queen and her council; who, after embarking in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign conquests, had subjected the nation to so much damage and disgrace.

A treasury drained by expences, and overloaded with debts; a people divided by religious controversies, and enraged by civil oppressions; a sovereign regardless of her

her people's welfare, and even, in appearance, bent upon their ruin; these were circumstances which, notwithstanding the magnificent promises made by Philip, gave the English but small hopes of retrieving Calais: and as the Scots, influenced by French councils, began to move on the borders, they found it necessary to provide for their defence at home, rather than to think of foreign conquests.

After the peace, which, by virtue of king Edward's treaty with Henry, had been concluded between Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, under pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, took a journey to France, accompanied by the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many others of the principal nobility.

Her real intention was to concert measures for persuading the earl of Arran to resign the regency in her favour; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke d'Aumale, had great influence in the court of France, she easily prevailed upon Henry, and by his means, upon the Scotch nobility, to use their endeavours in forwarding her designs.

Having

Having likewiſe engaged in her intereſt Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, biſhop of Roſs, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, the creatures of the regent, ſhe perſuaded him, by their means, to agree to this reſignation; and having thus taken the neceſſary ſteps for the accompliſhment of her purpoſe, ſhe ſet out on her return to Scotland, and paſſed through England in her way thither.

Edward gave her a very kind and civil reception; though he could not forbear attempting a renewal of the old negotiation for his marriage with her daughter: a marriage, he ſaid, which would ſo effectually ſecure the tranquillity, intereſt, and ſafety of both kingdoms, and which was the only means of eſtabliſhing a durable peace between them.

For his part, he added, he could never regard with a friendly eye any other perſon whom ſhe ſhould chuſe for a huſband; nor was it eaſy for him to forgive a man, who at the ſame time that he defeated the proſpect of ſo natural an alliance, had deprived him of a bride, to whom his heart, from his earlieſt infancy, had been entirely devoted.

The queen replied, that the propoſed alliance would have been as agreeable to

her as to his majesty, and that if it had unhappily failed, the fault ought to be ascribed, not to any aversion which the Scots entertained to the measure, but to the haughty behaviour of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of endeavouring to engage the affections of the young princess, by courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, had imprudently had recourse to arms and violence, and had compelled the Scottish nobility to convey their sovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in defending their liberty and independence.

When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found some difficulty in persuading the regent to perform his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be induced to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was fast approaching, and that the queen-dowager had engaged in her interest all the principal nobility, he judged it more prudent to comply; and having received a promise, that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should never be called to an account for any part of his past administration, he transferred the government into her hands; and she thenceforth assumed the name, and exercised the authority, of regent.

Hosti-

Hoſtilities had no ſooner commenced between France and England, than Henry applied to the regent of Scotland, requiring her to take part in the quarrel; and ſhe, having convened the ſtates of the kingdom at Newbottle, deſired them to agree to a declaration of war againſt England.

The Scottiſh nobility, who were as jealous of the French, as the Engliſh were of Spaniſh influence, flatly refuſed to grant her requeſt; and ſhe was obliged to make uſe of a ſtratagem, in order to accompliſh her aim.

She ordered one d'Oiſel, a Frenchman, who had attended her into Scotland as ambaſſador from Henry, to begin ſome fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been demoliſhed by the laſt treaty with Edward; and when the garriſon of Berwick, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, made an inroad to defeat the undertaking, ſhe artfully employed this pretence to inflame the reſentment of the Scottiſh nation, and to make them embark in a war with England.

The animoſity of the Scots, however, was carried no farther than by committing ſome depredations on the northern counties; and when d'Oiſel, of his own accord,

undertook the siege of Werk-castle, he was instantly ordered to desist, and was severely reprimanded by the council.

In order to strengthen the alliance between France and Scotland, and to augment the influence of the former kingdom, Henry thought proper to finish the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and commissioners were appointed by the Scottish parliament to assist at this ceremony, and to regulate the terms of the contract.

These commissioners were the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Ross and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes and Cassilis, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, natural brother to the queen, and Erskine of Dun. The instructions given to these deputies imported, that they should obtain a solemn engagement from the queen and dauphin, obliging them to maintain the laws and privileges of Scotland; and that they should procure a renewal of the French king's promise, to support, in case of the queen's death, the succession of the earl of Arran, now dignified with the title of duke of Chatelraut.

Both these conditions were readily granted; but the court of France employed a very

very baſe and perfidious artifice to defeat theſe ſtipulations: they ſecretly perſuaded the young queen, whoſe tender age and inexperience may well free her from any ſhare of the guilt, to ſubſcribe three papers; by one of which ſhe made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the king of France, in the event of her dying without children; by another ſhe mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or ſuch greater ſum as he ſhould have expended in her maintenance and ſupport; and by a third, ſhe declared, that whatever will or deed ſhe had been obliged, or ſhould hereafter be obliged to ſign, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown, it ſhould be entirely void and of no effect, and that her real ſenſe and intention was expreſſed in the firſt paper.

The marriage was celebrated at Paris; the deputies, in the name of the States of Scotland, ſwore allegiance to the queen, and, during the continuance of the marriage, to the king-dauphin, as he was now called; and every thing ſeemed to be conducted with the greateſt harmony and concord. But when the commiſſioners were deſired to deliver up the crown and other enſigns of royalty, they replied, that they had no power to take ſuch a ſtep; and they

ſoon after ſet out on their return for Scotland. Before they embarked, however, no leſs than four of them died within a few days of each other; and as the queen's uncles were known to be highly incenſed at them, on account of their late refuſal, they were commonly ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by orders from theſe noblemen.

The cloſe alliance between France and Scotland was extremely prejudicial to the intereſt of England; and it was evident, that though the factions and diſorders, which would naturally prevail in the Scottiſh government, during the abſence of their ſovereign, rendered its power leſs formidable, that kingdom would at leaſt aſſiſt the French by invading the northern counties of England, and, by that means, divide the ſtrength of the kingdom.

The queen therefore found it neceſſary to convoke a parliament, and to procure, if poſſible, ſome freſh ſupplies to her exhauſted Exchequer. The commons were highly incenſed at the late arbitrary and illegal expedients which Mary had employed to extort money from her ſubjects; but as the nation was now involved in a war with the two ſtates which were moſt capable of diſturbing its tranquillity, they wiſely reſolved to ſacrifice their reſentment to the good of the public.

They

They therefore voted, beſides a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods. The convocation, which met at the ſame time, granted eight ſhillings in the pound, payable in four years by equal portions.

The parliament likewiſe enacted a law, ratifying all the ſales and grants of crown-lands, which were either made already by the queen, or ſhould be made during the next ſeven years. It was natural to imagine, that conſidering the preſent diſpoſition and ſituation of the queen, this power would be attended with great alienations of the crown-lands; and nothing could be more inconſiſtent with the principles of good government than a prince inveſted with ſuch extenſive authority, and yet involved in abſolute poverty.

This act was ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of commons. One Cropley expreſſed his apprehenſions, leſt the queen, availing herſelf of the power which this act beſtowed upon her, might alienate the crown from the lawful heir; but his words were deemed irreverent to her majeſty; he was taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms; and though he acknowledged his fault, and profeſſed the utmoſt ſorrow for his offence,

he

he was not ſet at liberty, until he petitioned the queen for a pardon.

Mary had conceived ſuch a violent hatred and antipathy againſt her ſiſter, that the people were filled with continual apprehenſions with regard, not only to the ſucceſſion, but even the life of that young princeſs.

Elizabeth, ſenſible of her perilous ſituation, and mortified by repeated inſults and indignities, had retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was encompaſſed with ſpies, ſhe ſpent the greateſt part of her time in reading and ſtudy, interfering in no affair of ſtate, and ſeeing very little company.

While ſhe continued in this ſituation, which was for the preſent very irkſome and diſagreeable, but which gave her an opportunity of improving thoſe admirable talents which ſhe afterwards diſplayed in the courſe of her reign; propoſals of marriage were made her by the Swediſh ambaſſador in his maſter's name.

As her firſt queſtion was, whether the queen had been apprized of this propoſal; the ambaſſador replied, that his maſter imagined, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty to make his addreſſes to her in the firſt place; and having procured her conſent,

ſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter.

But the princeſs would not ſuffer him to proceed any farther; and the queen after commending her for this inſtance of duty, begged to know how ſhe reliſhed the Swediſh propoſal. Elizabeth, though involved in very diſtreſsful circumſtances, had the courage to reſerve herſelf for a better fortune; and ſhe concealed her refuſal under profeſſion of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe greatly preferred before any other.

The princeſs diſcovered the like prudence and addreſs, in diſſembling her religious ſentiments, in ſubmitting to the preſent modes of worſhip, and in defeating the wicked deſigns of thoſe Catholics who endeavoured to enſnare her by captious queſtions.*

* The common net at that time, ſays Sir Richard Baker, for catching of Proteſtants, was the real preſence; and this net was employed to catch the lady Elizabeth: for being one day aſked what ſhe thought of theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body," and whether ſhe believed that the true body was in the ſacrament; it is ſaid that, after a ſhort pauſe, ſhe gave the following anſwer:

"Chriſt was the word that ſpake it;
"He took the bread and brake it;
"And what the word did make it
"That I believe and take it."

An

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to equip a fleet of one hundred and forty ſail, which being re-inforced by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and containing a body of ſix thouſand land forces, was ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces were headed by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland.

But the preparations for this ſurprize were conducted with ſo little ſecrecy and diſpatch, that the French got intelligence of the deſign, and put all their ſea-ports in a poſture of defence.

The Engliſh found Breſt too well ſecured to make any attempt upon that place; but landing at Conquet, they pillaged and burned the town with ſome adjacent villages, and were penetrating farther into the heart of the country, when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, attacked them, threw them into diſorder, and repulſed them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs.

But

An anſwer, which, however ſlight and ſuperficial in appearance, contains a great deal of good ſenſe and judgment, and enabled her to eſcape the ſnare, which was laid for her, and unto which a direct and poſitive reply would certainly have betrayed her. *Baker's Chronicle.*

But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips had ſoon after an opportunity of retorting upon the French this damage and diſgrace. The mareſchal de Thermes, governour of Calais, had invaded Flanders with an army of fourteen thouſand men; and having croſſed the river Aa, had reduced Dunkirk and Berg St. Winoc, and proceeded as far as Newport.

But count Egmont advancing againſt him with ſuperior force, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, he choſe a very advantageous ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with his heavy baggage and carriages; and poſted his right along the river Aa, which, he naturally imagined would render him ſecure on that quarter. But the Engliſh ſhips, which happened to be on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing, ſailed up the river, and charging the French in flank, with their great artillery, committed ſuch terrible havock among them, that they were totally defeated with the loſs of five thouſand men; and the Spaniards obtained a complete victory.

In the mean time the principal army of France, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, and that of Spain conducted by the

duke

duke of Savoy, began to approach each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had repaired to their reſpective camps, accompanied by the flower of their nobility, a general and a bloody action was every moment expected from the hatred and animoſity of the rival nations.

But Philip, though fired with the ambition, was not endowed with the courage of a conqueror; and notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his numbers, and the two ſignal victories which he had obtained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, he was diſpoſed to conclude the war by a treaty.

Conferences were immediately opened on the ſubject; and as the terms demanded by the two monarchs were widely different from each other, the armies were put into winter quarters, until the princes could find out the means of coming to a final accommodation.

Among other conditions, Henry required the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; and Philip demanded that Calais, and its appendages, ſhould be reſtored to England: but, in the midſt of theſe negociations and debates, news were brought of the death of queen Mary; and Philip's connection with England being now diſſolved, he

became

became more indifferent about that capital article. Thus it happened for once, and perhaps but for once, that the preſervation of Mary's life would have been of ſome real advantage to the kingdom.

The queen had been long in a very bad ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had purſued an improper regimen, and her diſtemper became every day more inveterate.

Her malady was ſtill farther inflamed by the anxiety of her mind, which was now tormented with the moſt painful and uneaſy reflections; the conſciouſneſs of being deteſted by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, apprehenſions for the fate of the Catholic religion, grief for the loſs of Calais,* concern for the diſordered ſtate of her affairs, and, above all, her ſorrow for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to ſet out for Spain, and to ſettle there during the remainder of his life: all theſe diſagreeable thoughts preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe



* She was ſo deeply affected with the loſs of Calais, that ſhe ſaid to her ſervants, that if, when ſhe was dead, they would open her body, they would find Calais engraven on her heart.

died in the forty-second year of her age, after a short, bloody, and inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

The Roman Catholics, as might naturally be expected, have been extremely liberal, and even extravagant, in their encomiums on Mary's piety and devotion; but, perhaps, it would be no bold assertion to affirm, that, had she entirely disbelieved the existence of a Deity, she would have lived and died a better woman than she did. Qualities, which in others would have been virtuous, in her became vicious. She seems to have considered God, as a being endowed with infernal passions: and she therefore sought to appease him with streams of innocent blood. With her, the practice of piety became the trade of murder; by the care of her people, she meant nothing more than the exercise of her cruelty; and all her views for their interest, terminated in punishments for their virtues.

Bigotry and revenge were certainly the principal, if not the only, ingredients in Mary's character: not satisfied with the hecatombs of Protestants which she had sacrificed in her life-time, she seemed desirous that the flames of persecution should continue even after her death: for, when she found

found her end approaching, she sent for the lady Elizabeth, and demanded, though she could not obtain, a promise that she would maintain the public profession of the Popish religion, or, in other words, the open practice of barbarities, which throw a disgrace upon all religion, reflect dishonour upon human nature, and still continue to threaten the destruction of whatever can be dear to men and to Christians.

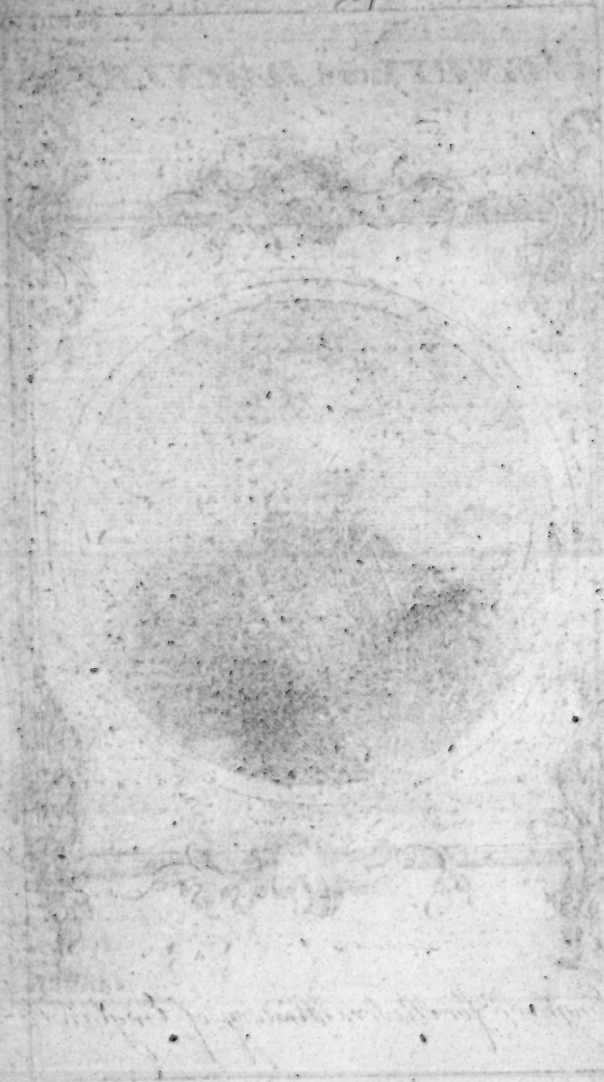
# ELIZABETH. A.D. 1558.

MARY having finiſhed her ſhort and inglorious reign, in the manner we have already related, the privy-council notified this event to the houſe of lords, which was then ſitting, who, after ſome deliberation, requeſted the attendance of the commons; and, by the mouth of Heath, archbiſhop of York, then chancellor, acquainted them of the death of Mary, and their reſolution to place her ſiſter Elizabeth on the throne. The chancellor had ſcarce concluded his ſpeech, when both houſes echoed with the joyful acclamations of "God ſave queen Elizabeth! long and "happily may ſhe reign." As Elizabeth had diſcovered both moderation and prudence during the reign of her ſiſter, and as the dangers to which ſhe had been continually expoſed, ſtrongly recommended her to the affections of the people, the joy they expreſſed on this occaſion was ſuch as prognoſticated the future happineſs of her reign.

She

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Engravd. for Rider's History of England.



She was at Biſhop's-Hatfield at the time of her ſiſter's death, from whence ſhe repaired to the Charter-houſe in London, and having ſtaid ſome days at lord North's, removed to the Tower. On her entrance into this place, the circumſtance of her impriſonment, a few years before, immediately recurred to her thoughts, and wrought ſo powerfully upon her mind, that ſhe fell on her knees, and expreſſed her thanks for the miraculous change in her condition, which ſhe compared to the deliverance of Daniel from the den of lions. With a prudence truly laudable, and a magnanimity that claims admiration, ſhe buried all the hardſhips and injuries ſhe had ſuffered, in oblivion, receiving the perpetrators with affability; and even Sir Henry Benefield, who had treated her with uncommon ſeverity, when under his cuſtody, received not the leaſt marks of her reſentment. When the biſhops indeed waited upon her, ſhe expreſſed her regard for them with a noble diſcretion, paying all of them a proper degree of reſpect; but turning aſide from Bonner, as an object of horror to every one ſuſceptible of the ſympathies of humanity.

After having ſpent ſome days in ordering her domeſtic affairs, Elizabeth diſpatch-

ed her ambaſſadors to notify her acceſſion to the crown, to foreign princes. Lord Cobham was ſent to Philip in the Low Countries, to expreſs her gratitude for the protection he had afforded her, and to aſſure him that ſhe was deſirous of perpetuating the friendſhip which then ſubſiſted between them. Sir Thomas Chalons was diſpatched to the Imperial court; and Howard, lord Effingham, was ordered to join Thirleby biſhop of Ely, and doctor Wotton, the plenipotentiaries at the congreſs of Cambray. At the ſame time Killigrew was ſent to ſound the Proteſtant princes of Germany; and the queen wrote to Sir Edward Carne, her ambaſſador at Rome, to notify the death of her ſiſter, and her own acceſſion. His holineſs, inſtead of receiving this information with temper, told the Engliſh miniſter, that his miſtreſs had been guilty of great temerity, in aſſuming the title and authority of queen, without his participation; objected to her illegitimacy, as a bar againſt her claim to the crown; pronounced her aſcending the throne, a criminal invaſion of his rights; concluding that her renouncing all pretenſions to the crown, and ſubmitting entirely to his will, was the only expedient to ſecure his paternal indulgence, and to induce him to act with all

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the lenity that was conſiſtent with the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee.*

In forming her privy-council, Elizabeth retained † thirteen of her ſiſter's counſellors, to prevent any alarm on the ſcore of religion; but, in order to ballance their authority, ſhe joined eight more to them, who were ſtrongly attached to the Proteſtant religion.

‡ His moſt Catholic majeſty, though he had long foreſeen the death of his conſort, was alarmed at the conſequences in which it involved him, and hoping ſtill to retain his

* When Elizabeth received this anſwer, ſhe was aſtoniſhed at the behaviour of his holineſs; and, having recalled her ambaſſador, purſued the meaſures ſhe had concerted to ſhake off the papal yoke, with a more fixed reſolution.

† Theſe were Heath, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Pawlet, marquis of Winchester, lord-treaſurer; Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel; Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury; Stanley, earl of Derby; Herbert, earl of Pembroke; lord Clinton, high-admiral; lord Howard, of Effingham, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Cheney; Sir William Petre; Sir John Maſon; Sir Richard Sackville; and Sir Nicholas Wotton. The new members were, the marquis of Northampton; the earl of Bedford; Sir Thomas Parry; Sir Edward Rogers; Sir Ambroſe Cave; Sir Francis Knolles; Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom ſhe created lord keeper; and Sir William Cecil ſecretary of ſtate.

‡ Philip of Spain.

his influence over England, immediately diſpatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, to make propoſals of marriage with Elizabeth; and, in caſe ſhe ſhould object her affinity, to promiſe to procure a diſpenſation from the pope. The queen finding it her intereſt not to break with the Spaniſh monarch, returned a polite and evaſive anſwer to his propoſal, which not only freed her from any further ſollicitation at that time, but likewiſe made him entertain ſuch hopes of ſucceeding on ſome other occaſion, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome to procure the diſpenſation.

Though the intereſt, the education, and the principles of the queen led her to favour the reformation,* ſhe determined to introduce it gradually, thinking by that means to eſtabliſh it more ſecurely, and to avoid

* The caution with which the queen proceeded in this important attempt may be gathered from her anſwer to Rainsford: this perſon, who was remarkable for his pleaſantry, told the queen, on occaſion of ſetting the priſoners free, that he had a petition to preſent her in favour of four other priſoners who were named Matthew, Mark, Luke and John: to which ſhe replied, "that ſhe would firſt conſult the priſoners themſelves, to know of them, whether they themſelves were deſirous of that liberty, which he ſolicited for them."

avoid the inconveniencies, to which her ſiſter had been expoſed by an inſtantaneous alteration of worſhip, and a violent invaſion of the eſtabliſhed religion. In order to encourage the Proteſtants depreſſed by the late reign, ſhe gave ſtrong ſymptoms of her intentions, by recalling all the exiles, by giving liberty to thoſe who were confined for their religious tenets, and by reſtoring thoſe, who had been attainted, to their honour. On this occaſion, the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned, was reſtored to his honours; Edward Seymour, ſon of the duke of Somerſet, was created baron Beauchamp and earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon of the duke of Norfolk, was made viſcount Howard of Bindon; her kinſman, Henry Cary of Hunſdon, and Oliver St. John of Bletmiſt, were likewiſe raiſed to the rank of barons.

Finding that the Proteſtant teachers broke out into a furious attack on the ancient ſuperſtition, and that the Romaniſts anſwered them with no leſs acrimony, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe prohibited all preaching without a ſpecial licence. She employed Dr. Parker, in conjunction with other divines, to review the liturgy of Edward the ſixth, and, to prepare

pare the nation, for its introduction into public worſhip, ordered the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the goſpel to be read in Engliſh. She publiſhed injunctions, that all churches ſhould conform themſelves to the practice of their own chapel, and forbade the hoſt to be elevated in her preſence.

When ſhe made her public entry through the city, amidſt the acclamations of her ſubjects, a boy, who perſonated Truth in one of the pageants, let down a Bible, which ſhe received with the moſt gracious deportment, holding it in both her hands and kiſſing it, and then laying it on her boſom, declared that ſhe would read it moſt diligently, and that ſhe eſteemed it the moſt valuable teſtimony that the city had given her of their attachment and affection. A young princeſs of five and twenty years, poſſeſſed of all the graces of inſinuation, and remarkable for the ſtudiouſneſs ſhe diſcovered to render herſelf popular, could not fail to raiſe hopes of a happy reign in the minds of the people, who ſeemed rather to place her on the throne through affection, than a regard to her claim by inheritance.

The inſtances ſhe had given of her inclinations raiſed ſuſpicions in the biſhops, that

Sr. NICHOLAS BACON.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

that her reign would be attended with a revolution in religious principles. From this perſuaſion they refuſed to officiate at the coronation; and it was with no ſmall difficulty that Oglethorpe, biſhop of Carliſle, was prevailed on to *crown her. Tho' ſhe had thrown out ſuch hints as encouraged the Proteſtants, ſhe was unwilllng to do any thing which might alarm or offend the Catholics, and prudently deferred the entire change of religion, till the meeting of the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The elections had gone entirely in favour of the Proteſtants, as the Catholics had made ſcarce any efforts to prevent it; and the houſe was filled with ſuch members, as were ready both from intereſt and principle to grant all that the queen could deſire of them. This ſeſſion was opened by Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal, who in a very elegant ſpeech expatiated on the virtues of the new queen, inveighed very much againſt the conduct of the late miniſtry, on account of the loſs of Calais, and, after recommending the religious ſtate of the nation to their conſideration, exhorted them to obſerve a due medium between the extremes of ſuperſtition

* January 15, 1559.

perſtition and irreligion, as the moſt effectual means of uniting both the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants in one mode of worſhip. In order to try the diſpoſition of the houſe with reſpect to religion, the firſt bill that was brought in, was that for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and for reſtoring the tenths and firſt fruits to the crown, which had been ſurrendered by Mary. This bill being paſſed without much difficulty, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhops: on February the fourth, the houſe of commons, in an humble addreſs, adviſed the queen to marry, in order to perpetuate their felicity, by having ſome of her royal iſſue to reign over them. After a ſhort pauſe, her majeſty replied, that, as the addreſs was expreſſed in general terms, without pretending to fix her choice, ſhe could not be any ways offended: that, notwithſtanding her youth might render her veracity ſuſpected, ſhe always declined the marriage-ſtate as an incumbrance:* and that ſhe

* Some authors aſſert, that the queen added, in this place, "That as England was her huſband, wedded to "her by this pledge (and here ſhewed her finger, "with the gold ring upon it, with which ſhe had "ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom, at her "inauguration): So all Engliſhmen were her chil-"dren;

ſhe was ambitious of no higher character, than that her tombſtone ſhould declare to poſterity, that "She was a queen, who, "having reigned ſo many years, lived and "died a virgin." Some days after a bill was paſſed, importing, that "Elizabeth "was, and might be, as well by the word "of God, as the common and ſtatute-"laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, "and true heir of the crown, lawfully de-"ſcended from the blood-royal, according "to the order of ſucceſſion, ſettled in the "thirty-fifth of Henry VIII." The houſe now turned their attention to affairs of religion; and paſſed the following bills; that the public worſhip ſhould be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the ſupremacy of the church of England ſhould be inveſted in the queen, ſtiling her the Governeſs of the Church, and a clauſe was added by which ſhe was impowered to nominate commiſſioners to exerciſe this

 autho-

"dren; and while ſhe was employed in rearing and "governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not eſteem her-"ſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs or unfruitful." *Hume's Hiſt. of the Tudors*, p. 412. Yet as Hollingſhed has omitted this extraordinary circumſtance, who has copied Grafton, an ear witneſs of this ſpeech, ſaying that he had given it "*as near as he could bear it a-*"*waie.*" We have not introduced it into the thread of our hiſtory.

authority, either from among the clergy or laity; which gave riſe to the high commiſſion court. Every one who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy was incapacitated to hold any public office; whoever denied, or endeavoured to deprive the queen of her ſupremacy, forfeited all his goods and chattels for the firſt offence, was obnoxious to the penalty of a præmunire for the ſecond, and was declared a traitor for the third. The other bills contained a confirmation of all the ſtatutes reſpecting religion, which were enacted in the reign of Edward VI. inveſted the nomination of biſhops in the crown, without any election of their chapter: eſtabliſhed uniformity in public worſhip; empowered the queen, on the vacancy of any ſee, to reſume all the temporalities, on condition of beſtowing an equivalent to the biſhop elect, in impropriations belonging to the crown; prohibited biſhops and all incumbents from alieneating their revenues, or letting leaſes longer than twenty-one years, or three lives; annexed all religious houſes to the crown, and declared the deprivation of Popiſh biſhops, in the reign of Edward VI. to be both valid and juſt. Beſides theſe grants the commons voted a ſubſidy of four ſhillings

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in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods, together with two fifteenths, and the duties of tonnage and poundage.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a public diſputation was held in the preſence of lord keeper Bacon between the divines of the Proteſtant and Romiſh party. But the popiſh diſputants refuſing to diſcuſs the points agreed upon, without firſt obtaining permiſſion from the pope, the affair was dropped; and the Papiſts diſcovering great refractorineſs and obſtinacy were puniſhed with impriſonment.

While the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negociations for peace were ſtill carried on in the Continent; firſt at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau en Cambreſis. Philip employed his utmoſt efforts to procure the reſtitution of Calais, and, ſo long as he entertained hopes of eſpouſing Elizabeth, delayed concluding a peace with the French monarch. Nay, even after he found all his expectations fruſtrated by the alterations ſhe had made in religion, he ſeemed willing to continue the war till ſhe obtained ſatisfaction, on her ſtipulating to adhere to the Spaniſh alliance, and continue hoſtilities againſt France for the ſpace

of ſix years. But when Elizabeth had conſulted with her miniſters, and had taken into conſideration the low ſtate of her finances, the great debts contracted by her father, brother and ſiſter, the diſorders introduced into every part of the adminiſtration, and the diviſions which agitated her ſubjects; ſhe plainly ſaw that a ſtate of public tranquillity was the only means of putting her kingdom into a reſpectable condition, and prudently rejected the propoſal. Her ambaſſadors were ordered to conclude a peace on any reaſonable terms, and in a ſhort time a treaty was made on theſe conditions: "That Henry ſhould reſtore Calais in the ſpace of eight years, and, in caſe of failure, ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, find ſecurity for the payment of this ſum, of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, and the queen's title to Calais ſhould ſtill remain: Henry was to deliver five hoſtages till the ſecurity was procured, and it was farther ſtipulated, "that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during that interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais: but if Henry made war on Elizabeth he ſhould be obliged to reſtore that fortreſs immediately." A ſeparate peace with Scotland was

MARY Queen of SCOTS
Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France, and tranquillity ſeemed, but in deed only ſeemed, to be eſtabliſhed between England and its neighbours.

The tragical amours of Henry VIII. had ſown the ſeeds of diſcord, which were now going to pullulate. He had beheaded two of the ſix queens whom he had married; and, by the ſervile compliance of his parliament, had paſſed an act, whereby both his daughters were declared illegitimate: but yet, conſiſtently with the capriciouſneſs which ſtrongly marks his character, in his laſt will he called both of them to the crown, after the death of their brother Edward VI; and, at the ſame time, paſſing by the iſſue of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, queen of Scotland, he appointed the line of ſucceſſion to be continued in the deſcendants of his youngeſt ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Suffolk. Though Mary had ſucceeded to the throne, without any complaint from the neighbouring ſtates; yet Elizabeth could not expect it: the pope trembled to ſee the crown of England in poſſeſſion of a Proteſtant princeſs, of ſo great abilities: the Spaniſh court being rejected, in the affair of marriage, was filled with reſentment, and trembled with the ſame ſuperſtitious fears as that of Rome; and the French king could

not, but with indignation, behold a throne, to which the queen of Scots was next heir, occupied by a perſon whoſe birth excluded her, in the opinion of all good Catholics, from any legal right of ſucceſſion. The duke of Guiſe and his brothers, ſpurred on by their vanity, and thinking that the acceſſion of England to France in right of their niece, would aggrandize them in the eyes of the French, perſuaded Henry not to neglect this claim. By their inſtigations he ordered his daughter-in-law, and her huſband, to aſſume the title of king and queen of England, They uſed this ſtyle in public papers which are ſtill extant, and the arms of England were engraved on their ſeals and plate, and quartered upon all their furniture and liveries. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's ambaſſador, remonſtrated againſt this inſult offered to his miſtreſs; but obtained only a frivolous and evaſive anſwer to his complaint. The French miniſter pretended, that, as Mary, queen of Scots, was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe had a right of aſſuming the arms of that kingdom; adding, that the king and queen of Scotland, had as juſt a claim for uſing the arms of the Engliſh ſovereigns, as Elizabeth herſelf had for quartering thoſe of France. This ſtep neceſ-

neceſſarily alarmed the jealouſy of Elizabeth, and made her look upon Mary as a formidable rival, and eſteem the princes of Lorrain as irreconcileable enemies. Though France had made this impolic claim, ſhe made no preparations to ſupport it. Elizabeth was poſſeſſed of every art that was requiſite for maintaining her high ſtation; the naval power of the Engliſh was daily encreaſing, and the marine of France was both neglected and deſperate. Scotland therefore ſeemed to be the only avenue by which the Engliſh dominions were acceſſible; and the princes of Lorraine determined therefore to attack them on that ſide.

They hoped to engage the Roman Catholics in their deſign, becauſe they were not only formidable for their zeal and numbers, but likewiſe highly exaſperated on account of the innovations which Elizabeth had made in the national worſhip But as the Scottiſh Proteſtants were invincible objects to their plan, they looked upon the entire ſuppreſſion of that party, as a neceſſary ſtep to the invaſion of England. In order therefore to intimidate the Proteſtant party, they reſolved to begin with the maſſacre of its leaders, and the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews, were marked out as the victims of their ambition. In-

ſtructions

ſtructions were ſent from France to the queen regent, who, notwithſtanding ſhe diſapproved of meaſures ſo violent, notwithſtanding ſhe remonſtrated againſt them, was at laſt obliged to give way to the obſtinacy of her brothers, and be their inſtrument in executing a plan ſhe could not but condemn and abhor. During the queen's competition with Chatelraut for the regency, ſhe had favoured the Proteſtants, and exaſperated the Catholic party, who, under the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, oppoſed her with the greateſt animoſity. She now changed ſides, regained the eſteem of the Catholics, and openly approved of the decrees of the convocation, which condemned all the principles of the reformers; and, at the ſame time, iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all perſons to obſerve the approaching Eaſter according to the Romiſh ritual.

*End of the* NINETEENTH VOLUME.

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